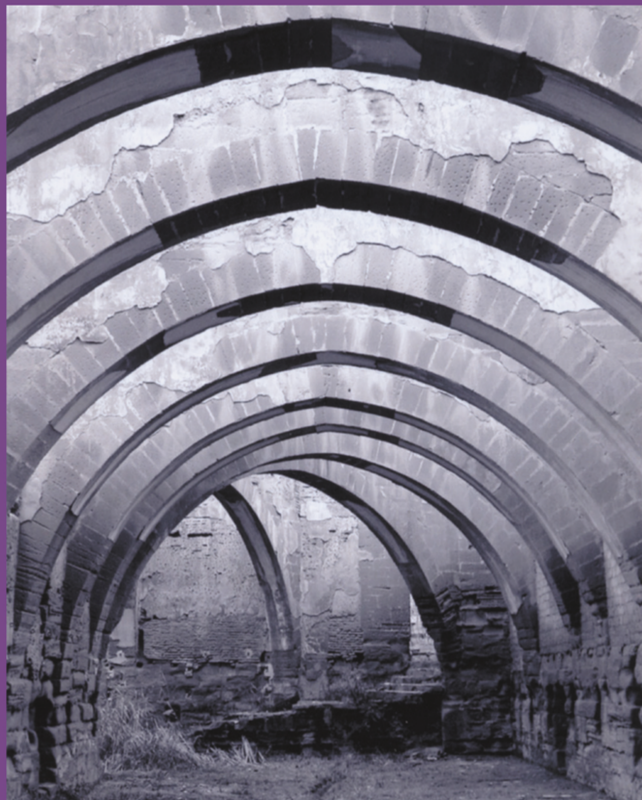
THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



WOMEN *in the* MILITARY ORDERS *of the* CRUSADES

Myra Miranda Bom

THE NEW MIDDLE AGES

BONNIE WHEELER, *Series Editor*

The New Middle Ages is a series dedicated to pluridisciplinary studies of medieval cultures, with particular emphasis on recuperating women's history and on feminist and gender analyses. This peer-reviewed series includes both scholarly monographs and essay collections.

PUBLISHED BY PALGRAVE:

Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety
edited by Gavin R. G. Hambly

The Ethics of Nature in the Middle Ages: On Boccaccio's Poetaphysics
by Gregory B. Stone

Presence and Presentation: Women in the Chinese Literati Tradition
edited by Sherry J. Mou

The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France
by Constant J. Mews

Understanding Scholastic Thought with Foucault
by Philipp W. Rosemann

For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh
by Frances A. Underhill

Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages
edited by Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl

Motherhood and Mothering in Anglo-Saxon England
by Mary Dockray-Miller

Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman
edited by Bonnie Wheeler

The Postcolonial Middle Ages
edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen

Chaucer's Pardoner *and Gender Theory: Bodies of Discourse*
by Robert S. Sturges

Crossing the Bridge: Comparative Essays on Medieval European and Heian Japanese Women Writers
edited by Barbara Stevenson and Cynthia Ho

Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages
by Laurel Amtower

Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture
edited by Stewart Gordon

Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature
edited by Elizabeth Robertson and Christine M. Rose

Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages
edited by Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn

Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages: Ocular Desires
by Suzannah Biernoff

Listen, Daughter: The Speculum Virginum *and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*
edited by Constant J. Mews

Science, the Singular, and the Question of Theology
by Richard A. Lee, Jr.

Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance
edited by Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees

Malory's Morte D'Arthur*: Remaking Arthurian Tradition*
by Catherine Batt

The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature
edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Warren

Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500
by Kathleen Kamerick

Absent Narratives, Manuscript Textuality, and Literary Structure in Late Medieval England
by Elizabeth Scala

Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul
by Bonnie Effros

Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire
by Anne McClanan

Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images
edited by Désirée G. Koslin and Janet Snyder

Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady
edited by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons

Isabel La Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays
edited by David A. Boruchoff

Homoeroticism and Chivalry: Discourses of Male Same-Sex Desire in the Fourteenth Century
by Richard E. Zeikowitz

Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England 1225–1350
by Linda E. Mitchell

Eloquent Virgins: From Thecla to Joan of Arc
by Maud Burnett McInerney

The Persistence of Medievalism: Narrative Adventures in Contemporary Culture
by Angela Jane Weisl

Capetian Women
edited by Kathleen D. Nolan

Joan of Arc and Spirituality
edited by Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler

The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries
edited by Ellen E. Kittell and Mary A. Suydam

Charlemagne's Mustache: And Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age
by Paul Edward Dutton

Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality, and Sight in Medieval Text and Image
edited by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills

Queering Medieval Genres
by Tison Pugh

Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism
by L. Michael Harrington

The Middle Ages at Work
edited by Kellie Robertson and Michael Uebel

Chaucer's Jobs
by David R. Carlson

Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity
by John M. Ganim

Queer Love in the Middle Ages
by Anna Klosowska

Performing Women in the Middle Ages: Sex, Gender, and the Iberian Lyric
by Denise K. Filios

Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England
by David Gary Shaw

Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages
edited by Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel

Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, Volumes 1 and 2
edited by Stephanie Hayes-Healy

False Fables and Exemplary Truth in Later Middle English Literature
by Elizabeth Allen

Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages
by Michael Uebel

Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures: New Essays
edited by Lawrence Besserman

Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages
edited by Jane Chance and Alfred K. Siewers

Representing Righteous Heathens in Late Medieval England
by Frank Grady

Byzantine Dress: Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting
by Jennifer L. Ball

The Laborer's Two Bodies: Labor and the "Work" of the Text in Medieval Britain, 1350–1500
by Kellie Robertson

The Dogaressa of Venice, 1250–1500: Wife and Icon
by Holly S. Hurlburt

Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things
by Eileen C. Sweeney

The Theology of Work: Peter Damian and the Medieval Religious Renewal Movement
by Patricia Ranft

On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100–1500
by Paula M. Rieder

Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays
edited by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones

Lonesome Words: The Vocal Poetics of the Old English Lament and the African-American Blues Song
by M. G. McGeachy

Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries
by Anne Bagnell Yardley

The Flight from Desire: Augustine and Ovid to Chaucer
by Robert R. Edwards

Mindful Spirit in Late Medieval Literature: Essays in Honor of Elizabeth D. Kirk
edited by Bonnie Wheeler

Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings
edited by E. Jane Burns

Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France?: The Case for St. Florent of Saumur
by George Beech

Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages
by Erin L. Jordan

Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles
by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen

Medieval Go-betweens and Chaucer's Pandarus
by Gretchen Mieszkowski

The Surgeon in Medieval English Literature
by Jeremy J. Citrome

Temporal Circumstances: Form and History in the Canterbury Tales
by Lee Patterson

Erotic Discourse and Early English Religious Writing
by Lara Farina

Odd Bodies and Visible Ends in Medieval Literature
by Sachi Shimomura

On Farting: Language and Laughter in the Middle Ages
by Valerie Allen

Women and Medieval Epic: Gender, Genre, and the Limits of Epic Masculinity
edited by Sara S. Poor and Jana K. Schulman

Race, Class, and Gender in "Medieval" Cinema
edited by Lynn T. Ramey and Tison Pugh

Allegory and Sexual Ethics in the High Middle Ages
by Noah D. Guynn

England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges
edited by María Bullón-Fernández

The Medieval Chastity Belt: A Myth-Making Process
by Albrecht Classen

Claustrophilia: The Erotics of Enclosure in Medieval Literature
by Cary Howie

Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature
by Heather Blurton

The Drama of Masculinity and Medieval English Guild Culture
by Christina M. Fitzgerald

Chaucer's Visions of Manhood
by Holly A. Crocker

The Literary Subversions of Medieval Women
by Jane Chance

Manmade Marvels in Medieval Culture and Literature
by Scott Lightsey

American Chaucers
by Candace Barrington

Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature
by Michelle M. Hamilton

Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies
edited by Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz

The King and the Whore: King Roderick and La Cava
by Elizabeth Drayson

Langland's Early Modern Identities
by Sarah A. Kelen

Cultural Studies of the Modern Middle Ages
edited by Eileen A. Joy, Myra J. Seaman, Kimberly K. Bell, and Mary K. Ramsey

Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language: An Edition, Translation, and Discussion
by Sarah L. Higley

Medieval Romance and the Construction of Heterosexuality
by Louise M. Sylvester

Communal Discord, Child Abduction, and Rape in the Later Middle Ages
by Jeremy Goldberg

Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century
edited by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown

Sexuality and Its Queer Discontents in Middle English Literature
by Tison Pugh

Sex, Scandal, and Sermon in Fourteenth-Century Spain: Juan Ruiz's Libro de Buen Amor
by Louise M. Haywood

The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages
edited by Catherine E. Léglu and Stephen J. Milner

Battlefronts Real and Imagined: War, Border, and Identity in the Chinese Middle Period
edited by Don J. Wyatt

Wisdom and Her Lovers in Medieval and Early Modern Hispanic Literature
by Emily C. Francomano

Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna
by Nuria Silleras-Fernandez

In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past
edited by Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman, foreword by Giles Tremlett

Chaucerian Aesthetics
by Peggy A. Knapp

Memory, Images, and the English Corpus Christi Drama
by Theodore K. Lerud

Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England
edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen

Excrement in the Late Middle Ages: Sacred Filth and Chaucer's Fecopoetics
by Susan Signe Morrison

Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales
edited by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones

The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance
by Seeta Chaganti

The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade
edited by Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey

The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein: An English Translation of the Complete Works (1376/77–1445)
by Albrecht Classen

Women and Experience in Later Medieval Writing: Reading the Book of Life
edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Liz Herbert McAvoy

Ethics and Eventfulness in Middle English Literature: Singular Fortunes
by J. Allan Mitchell

Maintenance, Meed, and Marriage in Medieval English Literature
by Kathleen E. Kennedy

The Post-Historical Middle Ages
edited by Elizabeth Scala and Sylvia Federico

Constructing Chaucer: Author and Autofiction in the Critical Tradition
by Geoffrey W. Gust

Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France
by Kathleen Nolan

Finding Saint Francis in Literature and Art
edited by Cynthia Ho, Beth A. Mulvaney, and John K. Downey

Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape
by Alfred K. Siewers

Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages
by Miriam Shadis

Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-Medieval Reception
edited by Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker

Medievalism, Multilingualism, and Chaucer
by Mary Catherine Davidson

The Letters of Heloise and Abelard: A Translation of Their Complete Correspondence and Related Writings
translated and edited by Mary Martin McLaughlin with Bonnie Wheeler

Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe
edited by Theresa Earenfight

Visual Power and Fame in René d'Anjou, Geoffrey Chaucer, and the Black Prince
by Sun Hee Kim Gertz

Geoffrey Chaucer Hath a Blog: Medieval Studies and New Media
by Brantley L. Bryant

Margaret Paston's Piety
by Joel T. Rosenthal

Gender and Power in Medieval Exegesis
by Theresa Tinkle

Antimercantilism in Late Medieval English Literature
by Roger A. Ladd

Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music
edited by C. Stephen Jaeger

Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective: Translations of the Sacred
edited by Elizabeth Robertson and Jennifer Jahner

Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond
edited by Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso

Outlawry in Medieval Literature
by Timothy S. Jones

Women and Disability in Medieval Literature
by Tory Vandeventer Pearman

The Lesbian Premodern
edited by Noreen Giffney, Michelle M. Sauer, and Diane Watt

Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present
by Miriamne Ara Krummel

Street Scenes: Late Medieval Acting and Performance
by Sharon Aronson-Lehavi

Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent
by Shennan Hutton

Palimpsests and the Literary Imagination of Medieval England: Collected Essays
edited by Leo Carruthers, Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, and Tatjana Silec

Divine Ventriloquism in Medieval English Literature: Power, Anxiety, Subversion
by Mary Hayes

Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany
by Jerold C. Frakes

Fairies in Medieval Romance
by James Wade

Reason and Imagination in Chaucer, the Perle-*poet, and the* Cloud-*author: Seeing from the Center*
by Linda Tarte Holley

The Inner Life of Women in Medieval Romance Literature: Grief, Guilt, and Hypocrisy
edited by Jeff Rider and Jamie Friedman

Language as the Site of Revolt in Medieval and Early Modern England: Speaking as a Woman
by M. C. Bodden

Ecofeminist Subjectivities: Chaucer's Talking Birds
by Lesley Kordecki

Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse
edited by Jerold C. Frakes

Ekphrastic Medieval Visions: A New Discussion in Interarts Theory
by Claire Barbetti

The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture: Ninth–Twelfth Century AD
by Nizar F. Hermes

Reading Memory and Identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women
edited by Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog

Market Power: Lordship, Society, and Economy in Medieval Catalonia (1276–1313)
by Gregory B. Milton

Marriage, Property, and Women's Narratives
by Sally A. Livingston

The Medieval Python: The Purposive and Provocative Work of Terry Jones
edited by R.F. Yeager and Toshiyuki Takamiya

Boccaccio's Decameron *and the Ciceronian Renaissance*
by Michaela Paasche Grudin and Robert Grudin

Studies in the Medieval Atlantic
edited by Benjamin Hudson

Chaucer's Feminine Subjects: Figures of Desire in The Canterbury Tales
by John A. Pitcher

Writing Medieval Women's Lives
edited by Charlotte Newman Goldy and Amy Livingstone

The Mediterranean World of Alfonso II and Peter II of Aragon (1162–1213)
by Ernest E. Jenkins

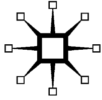
Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades
by Myra Miranda Bom

Heloise and the Paraclete: A Twelfth-Century Quest (forthcoming)
by Mary Martin McLaughlin

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY ORDERS OF THE CRUSADES

Myra Miranda Bom

palgrave
macmillan



WOMEN IN THE MILITARY ORDERS OF THE CRUSADES
Copyright © Myra Miranda Bom, 2012.
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2012
All rights reserved.

Text from "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Luttrell and H. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 89–112; reprinted with permission from the publisher.

Text from "The Hospital of Saint John, The Bedroom of *Caritas*," in *The Military Orders*, Vol. 4, ed. J. Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 85–90; reprinted with permission from the publisher.

First published in 2012 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-29572-2 ISBN 978-1-137-08830-7 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-137-08830-7

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bom, Myra M.
Women in the military orders of the crusades / Myra Miranda Bom.
p. cm.—(The new Middle Ages)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Military religious orders—History—To 1500. 2. Crusades—Participation, Female. 3. Women—History—Middle Ages, 500–1500. 4. Women in Christianity—History—Middle Ages, 600–1500. 5. Hospitalers. 6. Knights of Malta. I. Title.

CR4725.B66 2012
305.4009'02—dc23 2012002077

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: August 2012

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Transferred to Digital Printing in 2013

For Sophie

CONTENTS

List of Maps, Tables, and Figures xiii
Preface xv
Acknowledgments xix
Abbreviations xxi

Introduction 1
1. Female Monasticism 7
2. Women in Military Orders 23
3. The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem 43
4. The Lay Sisters of Saint John of Jerusalem 65
5. Hospitaller Sisters in the Twelfth Century 77
6. Hospitaller Sisters in the Thirteenth Century 93
7. The Hospital and Its Female Members 109
Conclusion 133

Notes 143
Bibliography 197
Index 223

MAPS, TABLES, AND FIGURES

Maps

1.1 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Latin East xvii

1.2 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe xviii

1.3 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula xviii

Tables

2.1 Houses for sisters in religious military orders, by order and century 41

7.1 The presence of lay associates, sisters, and hospitals in Hospitaller commanderies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries 113

Figures

3.1 Divisions of Hospitallers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries 51

4.1 Relationship among three Hospitaller *consorores* 71

5.1 Portal of the Hospitaller monastery at Sigena, Spain (restored) 83

6.1 Remains of the Hospitaller monastery at Alguaire, Spain 97

7.2 The relationship of Sigena and Buckland with the Hospital 125

PREFACE

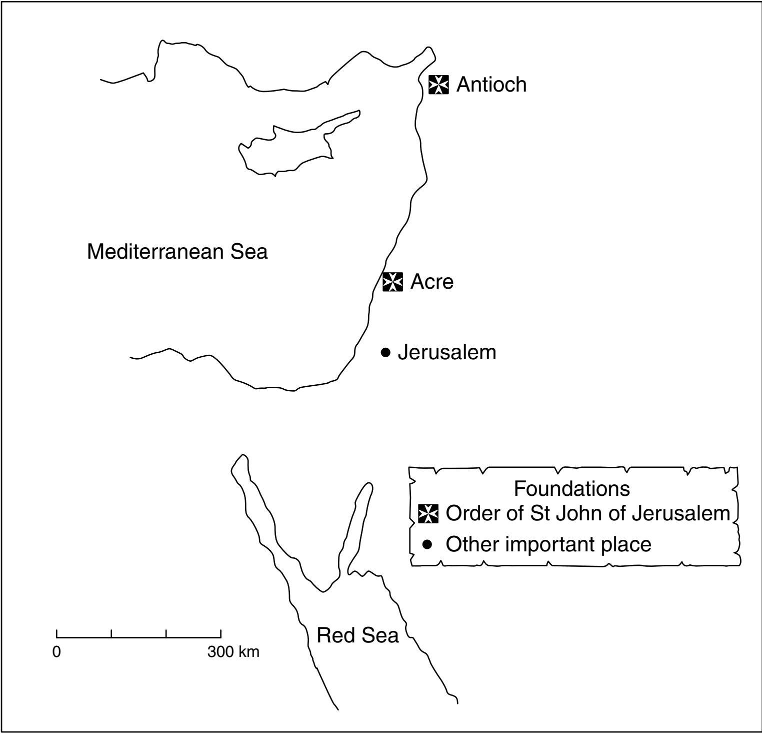
The deserts of Aragon. Los Monegros—a barren landscape. Empty fields, low bushes, and some leafless trees stand along a fast rushing river, all cloaked in a cold mist. Except for a few poor and dilapidated villages, the area is desolate. Then and now. I arrived at Sigena at 3 p.m. on Christmas Day, 2003. This is the place where Queen Sancha built her Hospitaller monastery, endowed it generously, and directed it from a distance until she had her chance to retire from court. In the 1190s, she reputedly wrote a letter to the prioress expressing how she longed for the tranquillity of religious life: "I would very much like to see you and live with you in order to delight in the tranquillity and peace which you enjoy because here we hear nothing but barking of dogs."[1] Despite the distance, she took care of the building of the house by sending a Saracen engineer to oversee the construction of mills and by ordering English artists to execute an elaborate decorative program for its chapter house.[2] I touch the walls and feel the crumbly sandstone. The walls are slightly orange, like the soil around them. The curved wall of an apse has a sole arched window decorated with two simple and worn columns. Just below the roofline, a row of rounded corbels embellishes the structure.[3]

A woman opens the small side door. A modern woman in a green coat, not the wide-capped, black-cloaked Hospitaller sister I had imagined. I lower my head and step through the gate. I see a large courtyard with little left of its former glory. It is burnt out, strewn with rubble, and surrounded by a skeleton of arches. "Dormitorio," the woman says. I nod and take pictures. She points to her left, "Refectorio." I nod again and click my camera. We enter a room. "Capitularia." This room, once decorated by Sancha's famous frescoes, is now restored and washed pink. Then we enter the church: dark, tall, simple, and currently with minimal decorations. We exit through the main portal of the church, which on the outside is elaborately decorated with a fan of fourteen simple stone pillars and arches; a royal execution of Romanesque simplicity. Finally

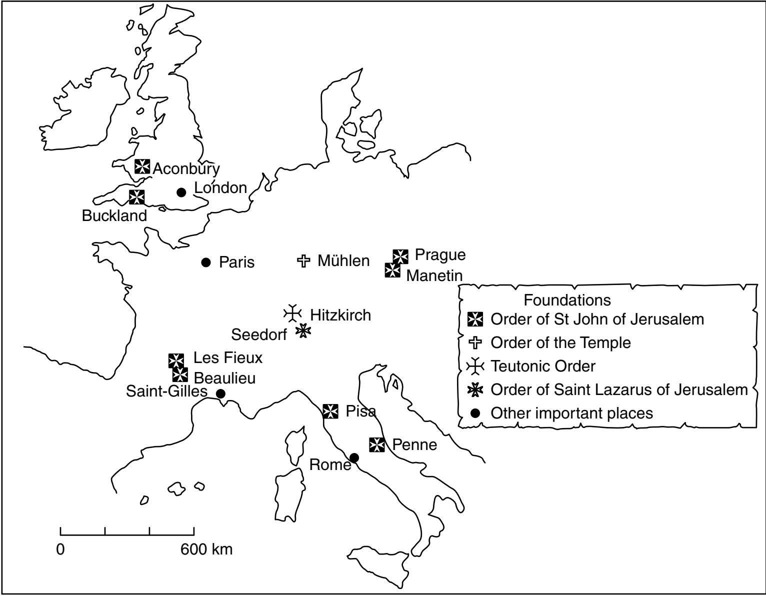
we go into the mortuary where the empty graves of Sancha, her son, King Pedro, and two of her daughters are situated along the walls. New are the eight slots for deceased Hospitaller sisters of more recent times. They were the survivors of the Spanish Civil War whose forces burned Sigena to the ground and destroyed it in 1936, almost 750 years after the first Hospitaller sisters came here. The war managed to halt religious life only until 1986 when the sisters of the order Belén obtained the property and revived it, "helped by the grace of God and several miracles of the Virgin."[4]

A copy of a thirteenth-century medieval Madonna and child stands in the new reception room of the abbess.[5] And just as the Hospitaller sisters told Mildred Staple Byne the story in the 1920s, the sisters of Belén told me about the miracle of the found image of the Virgin, the reason for the house's existence. When Byne visited Sigena in search of its art treasures, she saw on the wall of the prioress's hall, "one of the most stupidest and disagreeable pictures" of a "brownish bull snorting about in the center of a still more brownish landscape." "Of course," she wrote condescendingly, "we had to hear all about that."[6] According to Byne, the story goes as follows: Sometime in the twelfth century, a bull had the habit of wandering off and not returning until nightfall. One day, the cowherd decided to follow him and found the bull kneeling to pray in the middle of a field next to a large boulder. When the cowherd approached, he saw that an image of the Virgin was hidden in a niche of the rock, where, "as usual," it had been hidden to save it from the invading Moors. The cowherd told the priest, the priest told the bishop, the bishop told the king, and the king told his pious spouse, Doña Sancha, "who at once saw her duty and erected a monastery on the spot signaled by the knowing bull. To guard the image, the queen called together the first women of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem." Byne continues mockingly, "Thus the legend, cherished as the gospel of truth by the good ladies of the Sigena who pass their lives as sentinels to the apocryphal and undeniable thirteenth-century image (the same image as the modern copy), and hold themselves 'always ready to go at a moment's notice to nurse wounded crusaders in the Holy Land!'"[7]

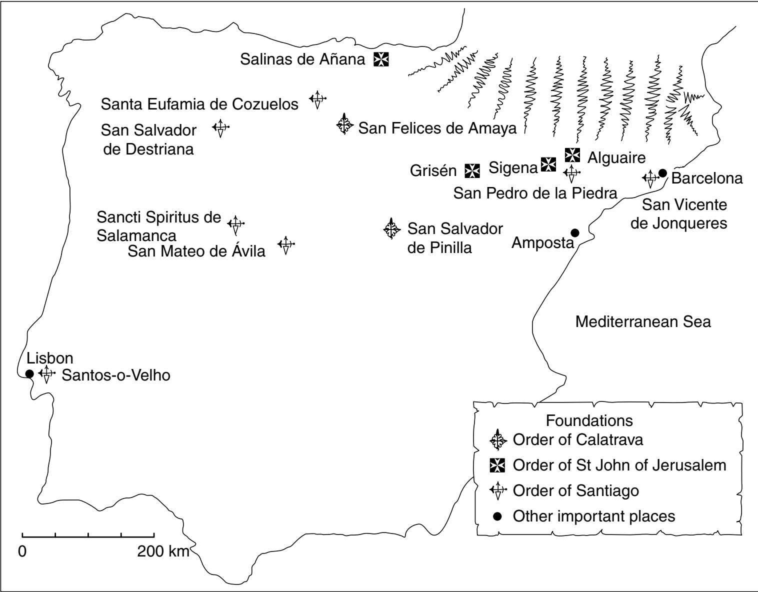
Did they?



Map 1.1 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Latin East



Map 1.2 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe



Map 1.3 Foundations for women in military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Academic research is never done alone; discussions with numerous friends and colleagues have shaped my thoughts. In particular, I would like to thank Jonathan Riley-Smith for bringing the Hospitaller sisters to my attention and supporting this project over the years and Michael McVaugh for his never-failing sound advice. I would also like to thank Richard Pfaff, Jaroslav Folda, Maura Lafferty, Helen Nicholson, and Anthony Luttrell for their helpful comments on my work; and Caroline Smith, Merav Mack, and Carl Trowell for their fruitful discussions. Furthermore, I thank Judith Bennett, Jacqueline Hall, and all the wonderful scholars of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship for making me aware that feminism is a positive enterprise and that the study of gender is valuable.

Furthermore, no scholarship is possible without sufficient financial support. Foremost I would like to thank the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina (UNC) and the American Association of University Women. Research was also made possible through grants by the Medieval Academy of America, the Hill Monastic Library, the UNC Center of International Studies, the UNC History Department, the Cambridge University Lightfoot Fund, and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACA: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona (Spain)
AdHG: Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Toulouse (France)
AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (Spain)
AHPH: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, Huesca (Spain)
ASG: Archivio di Stato di Genova, Genoa (Italy)
BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (France)
CA: College of Arms, London (England)
SHC: Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton (England)

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1188, Sancha, Queen of Aragon, a large number of Hospitallers, and other invitees gathered together for the solemn inauguration of a new rule for Sancha's foundation for Hospitaller women at Sigena in Aragon. The castellan of Amposta addressed the queen at this occasion as follows:

> Because our order is accustomed to agree to fair requests and especially of those who promote and expand the order feverishly and zealously with affection and accomplishment, we and the whole association of our brothers consent to your devout request, namely, we allow this new and unusual way of living for our sisters which was sought to be established by us; because it pours from a fountain overflowing with devotion and because you yourself, with the assistance of God, propose to live under the rule, we confirm and approve your commendable proposal.[1]

Sancha had founded a monastery and had created a rule for female Hospitallers, religious women who were members of a religious order that became known as one of the greatest military orders of the crusades. At first it seems odd that women, who in general did not fight, were members of a military order. Yet the Hospitallers were not alone in admitting female membership—current research shows that women attached themselves to most religious military orders, including the Order of Santiago, the Teutonic order, the Templar order and the Order of Calatrava.

This study looks deeper into female membership of the military religious orders that emerged from the Crusades. It does so by considering the military orders as *religious* orders, and by extension the women as female religious or as lay associates of religious orders, and by placing the discussion of women in medieval military orders in the larger context of female monasticism. While all major religious military orders are taken into account, the focus of this study, and the brunt of new research, is on the female members of the Order of Saint John. This order was one of the largest and most influential of the religious military orders that sprung

from the Crusades. It had a large number of female members, and many of its archives are still accessible.

The first chapter explains the medieval attitudes toward women in religious life and considers the conundrum of *cura monialium* [the care of nuns]. The problem was that men (and women) were convinced that religious women were worthy and should receive their needed care from men, but they at the same time feared that such cooperation would result in temptation and sin. The conflicting policies of male support and disaffection are at the heart of the history of female monasticism. Historians that have studied these attitudes have shown how over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries religious orders in general steered away from accommodating women in their midst. Hospitallers, as we will see, observed this trend, but only to a degree.

Chapter 2 is an overview of the female membership in the religious military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The idea of a military order (although not called such at the time) came about in the context of the Crusades. A group of knights in Jerusalem decided to devote their service not to a secular lord but to God under religious vows. It was a new type of knighthood in which the *milites Christi,* the knights of Christ, did not limit themselves to contemplation but combined a religious life with warfare. They became known as the Templars. The idea gained powerful support, and the idea grew in popularity. Men and women throughout Europe and the Latin East came to support the Templars with their property and their service.

Other religious military orders followed. Some grew out of hospitaller orders that already combined a religious life with service in the secular world, such as the Hospitallers, others were newly founded orders that took up the Templar example. When the idea of crusading spread and was applied to expanding Christianity at its eastern and southern frontiers, the military orders established themselves in these regions. The Iberian Peninsula in particular saw the proliferation of regional military orders.

It is clear from the evidence discussed in chapter 2 that female membership in military orders, in some format, was ubiquitous, but that the military orders did not use the same rhetoric or policies when it came to women. The Order of Santiago, for example, took female membership into account at its inception while the Order of Alcántara did not let any woman fully associate. So while historians have used military activity as the characteristic to define certain religious orders as "military orders," this categorization is not helpful when analyzing the orders' attitudes toward women. Realizing the ambiguity of categorization will allow us to better understand religious military orders in which contemplation, and women, had their place. For example, in stead of categorizing the

Order of Saint John and the Order of the Templars as military orders and the Carthusian order and the Gilbertine order as monastic orders, we can distinguish between orders that embraced women (Hospitallers, Gilbertines) and those that hesitated to include them (Templars, Carthusians). Another useful distinction is between orders which rule was based on the Augustinian rule versus those based on a Benedictine rule. The survey in chapter 2 of women in military orders suggests that military orders based on the Augustinian rule were more open to having female associates than those based on the Benedictine rule.

The Hospitallers had more female members than any other medieval military order. Chapter 3 considers the Hospitallers' attitude toward having female membership. It reviews the twelfth-century development of the order because its development from a hospital community in Jerusalem into an international religious military order coincided with general changes in approach toward accommodating women in religious orders. The changes in and consistencies toward the accommodation of female Hospitallers become clear in the detailed overview of female membership in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 4 considers lay associates: women who did not commit their lives to the order but participated in its spiritual benefits, sometimes reserving the right to join the order at a later time. Chapters 5 and 6 look at women who took religious vows and became Hospitaller sisters for life. Some nursed, some acted as commanders, and others devoted their lives to religious contemplation. These women lived in communities that included men or in communities exclusively designed to accommodate their own sex.

Chapter 7 answers why the Hospitaller order accepted female members and analyzes the consequences of having a female membership for the order. The order recruited women for many of the same reasons that it recruited men, namely for the financial support and social connections the recruits brought to the order. The order also appreciated the women's contribution to estate management, nursing, and contemplation. Once recruited, the sisters needed to be accommodated. In general, the Order of Saint John increasingly favored accommodating its sisters in single-sex religious communities devoted to contemplation, but other forms of accommodation were not suppressed and there was no effort to exclude female membership. Furthermore, strict enclosure was not enforced.

That women continued to be welcome in the Order of Saint John challenges the idea held by previous historians of the marginalization of women in religious military orders. While the number of female Hospitallers may have been small, their presence in the order is significant. Most of these women, especially by the end of the twelfth century, devoted their lives to contemplation, but it is a mistake to conclude that

women participated in Hospitaller life only to a limited extent because they did not fight or nurse.[2] The fact that the order welcomed these women, made the effort to accommodate them, and expressed the value of their prayers means that they took the religious life of these women and that in return these women should be considered in the history of the order in earnest.

Archival resources have been the foundation for this project. The extant documents pertaining to houses specifically for women are relatively accessible. Documents for the sisters at Sigena can be found at the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona (Spain) and the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca in Huesca (Spain), and have been collected and published by A. Ubieto Arteta as *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972) for the years 1184 to 1237. An eighteenth-century cartulary based on the now-lost archives of the sisters at Beaulieu (France) has survived and has been preserved in manuscript Doat 123 at the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (France). Finally, a fourteenth-century cartulary exists for the Hospitaller establishment at Buckland in Somerset (England). Although this cartulary pertained to the brothers who lived next to the sisters at Buckland, many of the copied documents give information on the sisters, in particular on the foundation of Buckland and the relations between the brothers and sisters. The original has been preserved in the Somerset Heritage Centre in Taunton, England as MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133 and was edited and translated by F. W. Weaver in 1909.[3]

Documents pertaining to other female Hospitaller houses are more difficult to come by. The archives of the sisters at Antioch, Acre, Penne, Salinas de Añana, and others were lost before they were copied, and only incidental documents remain. The documents of the house of sisters at Alguaire pose a different problem: they were dispersed after its dissolution and are now in several *armarios* under different names at the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón and in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona (Spain).

The biggest challenge is to locate women in, or associated with, male commanderies, because locating them requires painstakingly reading through all documents. I made the decision to focus on the area where the order was present since the early twelfth century, namely northern Spain and southern France, and have predominantly used the archives of the Crown of Aragon. Furthermore, I have visited, among others, the Archives départementales du Lot in Cahors (France), the Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne in Toulouse (France), and the Archivo Histórica Nacional, Madrid (Spain) and have made extensive use of published sources in order to allow the project to have a wider scope. I have

also used published sources and works by others for the Germanic lands and Italy.[4]

Identifying female Hospitallers is difficult for reasons other than the dispersal of primary sources. Some Hospitaller sisters, such as the sisters at Sigena, were addressed as *domine* [ladies], while others were called *sorores* [sisters]. In addition, the contemporary terminology used to distinguish between professed sisters and sisters who have not professed is imprecise—often associated women are simply called *sorores* whether they are professed religious or not. There was a large variety of lay association and a correspondingly large and confusing vocabulary to describe women who were not, or not fully, professed: *reddite*, *consorores*, *halvensusters*, *converse,* and *donate.* Female associates who were not fully professed are collectively called "lay sisters" by historians. The term "lay" in this case has nothing to do with priesthood (none of the sisters were ordained) but instead denotes that they were not fully professed. Lay sisters differed from corrodians in the fact that they had a stronger spiritual bond with the order and did not necessarily seek the order's care, but the distinction is sometimes difficult to make. Chapter 4 explains these types of lay association with the Order of Saint John and the corresponding terminology in detail.

Furthermore, sometimes the term *fratres* [brothers] or *confratres* includes women. The usage is comparable to the modern French "ils" or the American "guys," which similarly can refer to a group of men and women, and we should therefore not be deceived by the fact that the Hospitaller rule only mentions brothers. The records of the order show several examples throughout the middle ages in which a couple or a group that consisted of men and women is referred to collectively as "brothers" [*fratres* or *confratres*].

Besides the masculine default as denominator of a mixed group, there are other difficulties in discerning women among the men. Women were active as donors and show up in the records in that capacity, either alone or with their husbands. However, they were not active as receivers and seldom show up in witness lists as members of the order. As most of the information regarding the Order of Saint John comes to us in the form of donation charters benefiting the order, female members become nearly invisible.

Yet from the accumulation of snippets, a clear picture emerges: The Order of Saint John was a religious military order devoted to charity that, like most other religious orders, accepted female members. These women associated themselves with the Hospitaller order in various ways, and from the last quarter of the twelfth century had houses of their own. The establishment of separate houses for women was no sign, however,

of a deteriorating opinion of women by the Hospitaller order; in contrast, women were admitted throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and an effort was made to recruit and keep female members. In this respect, the Order of Saint John was, compared to other religious orders, remarkably welcoming to women.

CHAPTER 1

FEMALE MONASTICISM

"Women's efforts achieve little without the help from men," wrote the author of the life of Saint Gilbert.[1] He did not stand alone. Medieval men and women were deeply convinced that men and women were essentially different, in particular that women were weaker than men and that women's weakness required care by (the stronger) men, like the sick required care by the healthy, and the poor by the rich. As a consequence, men carried a burden of responsibility for women. For professed religious men such as monks and canons, the care for women presented a dilemma: they wanted to help religious women, but at the same time, they wanted to distance themselves from the female presence because they were concerned that contact with women would tempt them to break their vow of chastity. For women, care by men was convenient, but it also burdened them with dependence. The tension resulting from their perceived need to cooperate and the simultaneous wish to limit interaction underlies the history of female monasticism.

Women who sought religious life were faced with the *cura monialium* [care of nuns] dilemma regardless of whether they joined a military religious order or a religious order that was not involved with warfare. It is therefore useful for the understanding of women in religious military orders to study them in the general context of female monasticism, a topic that is addressed in this chapter and that has received much attention in recent years. Scholars have looked at issues of quantity and quality, namely how many nunneries were founded in certain periods and how the quality of women's religious experience changed over time. Many concluded that, after an initial enthusiasm for female spirituality, the position of women in religious life deteriorated over the course of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.

Although it can be argued that there was a trend of diminishing male enthusiasm for female monasticism, this is not to say that all orders

responded to the need of women in the same way at any given time. The historian Giles Constable observed in 1996 that the "reformed orders of monks and the strictly enclosed orders tended to be less receptive to women."[2] This is not surprising, as the objective of enclosure was the preservation of purity, exactly that which women could disturb. Consequently, these men were more careful in their contact with women. In contrast, communities of hospitaller orders were often mixed-sex. These orders often originated as confraternities of men and women dedicated to the care of the needy, as both sexes were needed in hospitaller care. Under the influence of the reform movement, these hospitals and their affiliates became more organized and regulated—usually adopting the Rule of Saint Augustine—but their communities often remained mixed-sex.[3]

Most orders fell somewhere in the middle: they allowed women but preferred them to be segregated. The Fontevrists, the Premonstratensians, and the Gilbertines were receptive to the needs of women in their early history. As we will see, each of these started as eremitical movements under a charismatic leader who had followers among lay men and women. Later, the followers were organized into a monastery from which independent houses were founded and an order developed. While the numbers of women were still small, the men in these new and enthusiastic religious movements were in general willing to accommodate women, whom they admired for their religious fervor. However, each religious order seems to have changed its attitude over the course of the twelfth century: while its male members were happy to have women associated with them in the beginning of the century, by the 1170s they all preferred to distance themselves from their spiritual sisters.

In general, the more secluded and ascetic the order, the less likely its members were to incorporate women. The more hesitant orders were often reformed Benedictine orders, the members of which occupied themselves with personal salvation through spiritual purity, the focus of traditional monasticism. Augustinian orders, which included some of the "new" orders of the twelfth century and the charitable orders, tended to be more open to the inclusion of women, or at least open to the inclusion of women at their inception.

The Care of Nuns

Monastic life for women had been acknowledged and valued since Christianity's earliest beginnings. Mary was praised for sitting idle to listen to the words of Christ (10 Luke 38–42). Saint Jerome had encouraged women in their monastic lives. The sister of Saint Augustine was a

religious figure, as was the sister of Saint Benedict. Noble Benedictine abbesses like Saint Leoba of Wessex and Huneberc of Heidenheim worked alongside men such as Saint Boniface, Saint Willibrord, and Saint Willehad in the eighth century and were instrumental in spreading Christianity among the Germanic pagans by establishing monasteries in hostile lands.[4] Aristocratic women also had the opportunity to join communities of canonesses who lived a religious life without making vows of poverty or chastity.[5] When Europe revived in the eleventh century, so did female monasticism.

In the twelfth century, the merit and validity of women's spirituality was recognized in various ways. Some exceptional women, like Hildegard of Bingen, were highly respected and derived authority from their spirituality. But ordinary nuns were valued too since all nuns were brides of Christ. In some respects, these religious women were more admirable than religious men because female virginity was highly praised. Furthermore, successful religious women were held in high esteem because they were deemed to have overcome their feminine weakness.[6] As a result, laypeople and religious men regularly supported religious women in order to enjoy the merit of their prayers.[7]

The idea that women were weaker than men was deeply engrained in medieval thinking. It was considered a universal truth by both men and women. As a consequence of the perceived feminine weakness, men and women accepted as a fact that women needed the aid of men. The author of the life of Saint Gilbert appealed to common sense when he wrote that women's efforts achieve little without help from men.[8] Even Heloise (d. 1164), a strong and intelligent woman, wrote to her former husband, Abelard (1079–1142): "[M]en and women alike are received into monasteries to profess the same rule," while "the same yoke of monastic ordinance is laid on the weaker sex as on the stronger."[9] She wrote to him for advice for her nunnery when in fact she was a much more capable abbess than Abelard was an abbot.[10]

Men had to help women because, according to Christian ethos, the strong were morally obliged to help the weak: the rich help the poor, the healthy help the sick, men help women. The necessity for men to help women in the spiritual and the temporal realms made women dependent on men for their salvation, economic survival, and physical protection. Spiritually, only men could be priests, and therefore only men could read the Gospel, celebrate mass, or hear confession and administer penance.[11] Economically, women depended on men for their well-being, too. Since some jobs were not considered proper for women, men were called in to do the work. The division of labor according to gender was, in the medieval mind, as old as the beginning of mankind, a fundamental truth

to the function of society. Eve spun while Adam tilled the land. The division, however, was unequal in its division of power; while men depended on women to do menial tasks such as washing clothes, women needed men for much more commanding responsibilities such as the collection of rents by stewards, on whom women depended for their income.

Young, unmarried women had their fathers and brothers to rely on, and married women, their husbands. Religious women, having retreated from family life, relied on employed men or the service of fellow male religious. By employing men, women kept a certain independence, but the services were not secure, especially considering that many communities of religious women were very poor. Arrangements with male religious communities brought more stability, but as female communities were brought into male institutions, the women usually were the weaker, less powerful party and in most cases became dependent on male institutional leadership.

The cooperation between men and women could be very fruitful when both parties felt they benefited: men felt good about themselves for taking care of women and believing in the spiritual gain from their charity and the prayer of the women they supported; women felt secure their needs were met and could subsequently concentrate on their spiritual lives. However, this cooperation could also lead to conflict when men felt the burden of caring for women was too great or women felt that their dependent position was abused.

The cooperation between religious women and men was further challenged by their vow of chastity. Religious men and women vowed to lead a life without sexual activity, and breaking this vow was considered a grave sin. According to common sense, the best way to preserve chastity was to avoid temptation by staying away from members of the opposite sex. This approach was frustrated, however, by the cooperation between religious women and men.

Twelfth-century religious reformers recognized that the sexes needed distance in order to avoid temptation but that, at the same time, close cooperation between the sexes was needed for women to flourish. Therefore, when men and women alike enthusiastically took up new forms of religious life in the beginning of that century and new, mixed communities were established, there was much experimentation of form and organization within religious communities in order to find a balance that avoided conflict or scandal: conflict caused by the frustration of men burdened with care and of women chained by dependence, and scandal brought by the proximity of the sexes.

For men who were committed to a life without sexual activity, the presence of women seemed a great danger, and increasingly so as the

reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries continued to promote the monastic ideal of celibacy. [12] Heloise, as abbess of Paraclete, voiced concern about having men in her convent at night for the reading of the Gospel;[13] Abelard agreed and encouraged monastic enclosure for religious women in order to protect them. Other influential churchmen such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1143) and Peter the Venerable (c. 1092–1156) shared this opinion. Bernard was concerned about the interaction between religious men and women and therefore promoted strict enclosure for a Cistercian nunnery at Jully.[14] Peter poetically explained the benefit of enclosure to his nieces at the Cluniac nunnery at Marcigny in an effort to console them in their isolation: "[J]ust as the garden shut off from thieves diffuses the scent of vines, burns with the olive and is resplendent with the rose, so religion grows in the vine, peace in the olive, and the modesty of consecrated virginity in the rose."[15] Virginity, according to Peter and others, bloomed best when preserved in an enclosed garden.

Twelfth-Century Religious Enthusiasm

The end of the eleventh century saw a surge in religious enthusiasm that expressed itself in numerous ways. Individuals sought spiritual satisfaction by joining semireligious fraternities involved in charitable works such as care for the poor, the building of bridges, or attendance to the sick. They went on pilgrimage or joined the First Crusade. Lay support for the hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem can be understood in this context, as can the desire for knights to combine warfare with monastic vocation and the fraternal association of laypeople with religious orders.

Alternatively, individuals could spiritually enrich themselves by fully committing to a religious life through taking religious vows (professing) and joining a monastic community. Those who had already professed also sought to improve their spiritual experience, and they did this through monastic reform that aimed to bring monastic life back to its apostolic simplicity. Arguably most influential in this effort were the Cistercians, who started as a small community in Cîteaux in 1098 but quickly expanded into a network of associated houses over the first half of the twelfth century. Its objectives became an example for many other orders, including some military orders such as the Order of the Temple and the Order of Calatrava.

Countless women participated in the new religious surge. Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204), Berengaria of Navarre (d. 1230), Constance of France (d. c.1180), and numerous anonymous women went on crusades and pilgrimages. Some found a semireligious vocation by joining the staff of one of the many new hospitals or hospices. Others participated by

joining fraternities in support of these hospitals or other religious foundations. Some, like Eleanor or Constance, joined religious orders as semi-religious.[16] Furthermore, an increased number of women made the full commitment and entered the religious communities of nuns, some of which, like the nuns at Hohenbourg in the Alsace, were part of the intellectual effort to reform monastic life.[17]

In order to accommodate the increased number of religious women, men and women enthusiastically experimented with new forms of monastic life, reviving to some extent the all but lost tradition of "double" monasteries, in which men and women had lived together. A well-known example is the effort of Robert of Arbrissel, whose inspiring preaching in the last years of the eleventh century attracted a great number of followers, male and female. He housed them in hospices and lodges but was severely criticized, so in 1101 he formalized the monastic arrangements in the foundation of Fontevrault, an abbey in the Loire region of France in which he segregated the men from the women and subjected them to the Benedictine rule.

There were other possibilities for women. In northwest France, Norbert of Xanten established a mixed-sex religious house at Prémontré for canons, canonesses, lay brothers, and lay sisters in 1120, and many other Premonstratensian communities followed quickly thereafter.[18] However, shortly after Norbert's death in 1134, the general chapter of the order decided that it would be better to move the canonesses and lay sisters away from the men in Premonstratensian houses.[19] Nevertheless, the implementation came slowly and was often left to the minor aristocracy rather than the Premonstratensians themselves.[20] The women left the order's main abbey of Prémontré in 1141 for a site four kilometers away, and other houses followed suit, but the segregation was not complete.[21] In 1198, Innocent III noted in a bull that the Premonstratensians had decided not to receive any more women into the order.[22]

The story of the women of Prémontré tells the common story of women in medieval monasticism. At first, men valued religious women. They supported them because it was commonly understood that women needed the support of men. Then the initial enthusiasm faded, the care for the women becomes a burden, and their ability to tempt men into unchaste behavior becomes a spiritual liability. Women were segregated and then denied. The Templars decided to accept "no more women" in 1129, the Order of Prémontré in 1198, and the Cistercians followed in 1228.[23]

At roughly the time when the Order of Prémontré made arrangements to segregate its female members, Gilbert of Sempringham designed a new arrangement for the accommodation of religious women and men

in the north of England. According to his *Vita,* Gilbert was a devoted priest at the church of Sempringham who decided to provide for some young women who wanted to "overcome the temptations of their sex and of the world" because he could not find any men who wanted to lead such strict lives.[24] In order to house these women, "dwellings suitable for religious life were duly built, together with an enclosure sealed on every side. . . . Only a window was preserved which could be opened so that necessities could be passed through it."[25] The author of Gilbert's *Vita* explains that "tender virginity is frequently and easily tempted by the serpent's cunning, therefore [Gilbert] shut them away from the world's clamor and the sight of men, so that having entered the king's chamber they might be free in solitude for the embrace of the bridegroom alone."[26] Thus the nuns, brides of Christ, were bound to a chaste marriage, and his claim on their sexuality needed to be protected from the devil by enclosure. Like male religious, female religious were threatened by the sexuality of the opposite sex because they had denied it to themselves and had sacrificed it to God instead. Since the nuns were not allowed to go out of their house, not even for their basic needs, some poor women assisted them.[27] However, Gilbert also needed to assign men to his foundation, because otherwise women could not survive.[28]

Gilbert's arrangements were successful, and the number of foundations multiplied with astonishing speed.[29] Gilbert then wanted to affiliate with the Cistercians because he admired their strict life, but the Cistercians declined.[30] The pope recommended that Gilbert take the responsibility for the foundations upon himself, which meant that he had to arrange for priests to serve the convents with protection and education for the nuns.[31] In accordance with the wishes of the Church, Gilbert ordered the houses of canons to be placed far away from those of the sisters, and they were allowed only to hear, not to see, one another.[32]

Gilbert's *Vita* tells the history of an order that was strictly segregated from its inception. However, an earlier account of a scandal at the Gilbertine house at Watton shows that the arrangements were not as strict as the *Vita* would have liked its readers to believe and that at first there was more opportunity for interaction between men and women.[33] Similarly, the *Vita*'s claim that the Cistercians did not accept Gilbert's offer of affiliation on account of the nuns may be more reflective of the time when the *Vita* was written than of the reasons given at the time of Gilbert's request. Gilbert himself does not say why the Cistercians denied him affiliation. He recounts that he asked the first abbot of Rielvaulx (William) for advice and that the abbot had given him monastic habits like those of the Cistercians, but when in 1146 he went to the chapter at Citeaux over which Pope Eugenius III presided, his request for affiliation

was denied on the grounds that the Cistercians did not want to preside over another order of monks—and especially not over nuns.[34]

The attitude of the Cistercian order is relevant to the history of women in religious military orders because so many of these orders were influenced by the Cistercians. Historians have often taken the view that the Cistercians and other religious orders were pressured into accommodating women during the twelfth century, and the *Vita* of Saint Gilbert seems to indicate that Cistercians did not want to take on the care of women.[35] Richard Southern wrote that in practice the Cistercian legislation "had to bow before the force of feminine liberty," accepting Herbert Grundmann's opinion that Cistercians only admitted women at the end of the twelfth century when they "could no longer dam the flood."[36] Writing of the "inability of even the Cistercian order to keep women out, . . . [although there was] none that shunned female contact with greater determination,"[37] Southern added that Bernard of Clairvaux himself had advised avoiding women, because "to be always with a woman and not have intercourse with her is more difficult than to raise the dead."[38] However, concern with the presence of women did not necessarily imply no concern for women who wanted to take on a religious life. While Bernard did not approve of religious women living together with men, an opinion he shared with many, he did show care for the spiritual well-being of women, in particular with the foundation of a nunnery at Jully.[39]

Current research by Sally Thompson and by Constance Berman has shown that, despite negative rhetoric, there were many Cistercian nuns in France in the first half of the twelfth century and that they were welcome in the order.[40] In fact, there was a striking expansion of Cistercian women's houses in the Catalan region, where many of the Cistercian houses founded in the twelfth century were nunneries.[41] The medieval Catalan region included parts of what are now southern France, and the first of the Cistercian nunneries had ties north of the Pyrenees: Santa Maria de Valldemaria (diocese: Gerona) was founded as a daughter community of Novinges de l'Aveyronç in c. 1156. Ten years later, the nuns of Valldemaria founded San Feliu de Cadins (diocese: Gerona), which received a papal endorsement in 1169. A third female Cistercian monastery in the region, Santa Maria de Eula, was founded by the abbey of Fontfroid in 1174. In 1176, the hermit Ramon of Vallbona merged two existing nunneries and created Santa Maria de Vallbona (diocese: Lérida), a Cistercian nunnery that became wealthy and powerful and from which a number of foundations sprung: Santa Maria del Pedregal (1174), Santa Maria de les Franqueses (1186), and Santa Maria de Bovera (1195). In the thirteenth century, the nuns of Vallbona founded Santa Maria de Lleida

(1204). Bonrepos incorporated the nuns from the Cistercian nunnery Santa Maria de Monsant (which had been founded in 1210) and became dependent on Vallbona in 1215, and Santa Maria de Vallverd, which had been a nunnery since 1174, became a Cistercian foundation dependent of Vallbona in 1220. Other Cistercian nunneries in the region were Santa Maria de Valldaura (1231), Santa Maria de Valldonzella (1237), and Santa Maria de Vallsanta (1237). Valldonzella, Cadins, and Vallbona are still active today.

Moreover, it was the Cistercian model that was deemed most desirable and appropriate for the accommodation of women in religious life in northern Spain. It was the order of choice for noble women who wanted to found a religious house for women. Among others, Estefania, daughter of Count Armengol V of Urgel, founded Santa Maria de Valbuena in Valbuena de Duero (Urgel) in 1143/1152 and Benavides in 1176;[42] Sancha of Castile founded La Espina in 1147;[43] Oria, countess of Pallars, founded Casbas (Huesca) in 1174;[44] and Eleonor Plantagenet, Queen of Castile, founded Las Huelgas (Burgos) together with her husband in 1187.[45] These were viable and powerful institutions of female Cistercians.

The relationship of the Cistercian order with its female membership was complex. Constance Berman, who has closely studied male Cistercian attitudes toward female Cistercians, argues that after a period of relative indifference, the Cistercians began to include houses more systematically in the middle of the twelfth century, but then started to distance themselves from women in its last quarter, a process that culminated in 1228 in a statute that discouraged any further acceptance of nunneries. According to Berman, a great expansion of female Cistercian houses occurred after the 1170s and 1180s and coincided with the moment when the Cistercians, after a long, gradual development, finally reached maturity as an order. She notices that there was "considerable ambivalence about women's houses among Cistercians after the 1170s and 1180s, yet this was the period of greatest expansion of women's houses within the order."[46]

Cistercian ambivalence about female membership at the time of the greatest expansion of women's houses is, I believe, not a contradiction. As was the case in other orders, the Cistercians seem to have shown heightened anxiety with regard to female members when their numbers increased significantly. The eventual decline in the number of foundations for religious women seems to have been the result of a complex shift in values, that is, the cumulative effect of a shift in balance between sympathy and fear, both of which existed in the minds of religious men. They wanted to aid women in their quest for a fulfilling spiritual life, but at the same time saw a danger to their own salvation in being too

intimate with women. The reason was that women's proximity might tempt men to sin. Men's sympathy for women and fear for sin through women thus coexisted on a mental balance, causing otherwise inexplicable contradictions between words and deeds—even within the corpus of one author—with regard to attitudes toward women. Sympathy or even admiration for women brought men closer to women, but closer proximity increased the perceived danger, causing the balance to sway and giving the upper hand to fear. Although sympathy was still present, fear became the dominant force. This sway from sympathy to fear was a process that occurred over the course of the twelfth century through which different religious orders and their leaders passed in more or less the same manner. The cumulative effect of the shifts from admiration to fear in individual orders caused a shift of values—which were used as the moral justifications for the limitation of danger—around 1180.

The twelfth century witnessed a viable alternative to the Benedictine life of the Cistercians, the Cluniacs, and the many independent monastic communities that dotted Europe. From about 1100, the "Rule of Saint Augustine" was adopted by a wide variety of religious groups (beginning with canons of cathedral chapters) who saw their vocation as more active in the world than the traditional Benedictines, but who nevertheless sought to submit themselves to a religious rule, as was increasingly considered desirable by the institutional Church. The Augustinian rule was in fact a compilation of Augustine's writings.[47] It was ancient and short and therefore was very flexible and held great authority. Because the Augustinian rule was very general, religious houses and orders that adopted this rule augmented it with statutes and customaries to serve their needs.

Benedictine monks had some interaction with the secular world, as they provided shelter, hospital care, and education, but care was never their core mission. Conversely, some communities of Augustinian canons engaged in the monastic life to such an extent that they were hardly distinguishable from communities of monks. However, as Caroline Walker Bynum has pointed out, the difference between Benedictine monks and Augustinian canons was not so much in what they did, but in how they perceived themselves.[48] Benedictines saw themselves as learners who enhanced their standing with God through their own spiritual development. The Benedictine rule emphasizes personal spiritual improvement through humility and obedience. The rule first stresses the importance of obedience in order to come close to God and then it continues: "To you, therefore, my words are now addressed, whoever you may be, who are renouncing your own will to do battle under the Lord Christ, the true King, and are taking up the strong, bright weapons of obedience."[49]

The Augustinian rule, on the other hand, begins with encouraging its readers to love: "Before all else, dear brothers, love God and then your neighbor, because these are the chief commandments given to us."[50] It thereby added the concern for others to personal spiritual improvement. Canons who adopted the Augustinian rule sought to come close to God not only through their own edification but also through reaching out to others with preaching and teaching. They saw themselves as both learners and teachers.[51]

Female canons (canonesses) had been around since the eighth century. At first, they could keep their own property, they could marry, they did not live in common, and they did not submit to *clausura.* They were aristocratic women who lived a religious life under the supervision of a bishop and who had public roles in the performance of the liturgy.[52] Much is still to be learned about canonesses, but it is clear that they were increasingly pressured to take on a religious rule (just as the canons were) and to live in common.[53] Some communities adopted the Benedictine rule, but others took on the Augustinian rule and became known as Augustinian or regular canonesses. Regular canonesses were often aristocratic and, on account of their wealth, independent.[54] Because there was no centralized order of canons or canonesses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, regular canons had no common regulation regarding the admission of women. The Premonstratensians and the Hospitallers, two new orders in the twelfth century, adopted the Augustinian rule and admitted women as canonesses. Other houses of Augustinian canonesses came about independently.

Like the canons, charitable organizations frequently organized themselves under a rule, which was frequently the Augustinian rule or a variation thereof.[55] They shared with the canons the ideal of serving God through reaching out to others, but their concern was expressed not by preaching and teaching but by providing physical assistance to people in need. Some of these organizations, such as those dedicated to ransoming captives or to bridge building, had traditionally very few female members, but others, notably those dedicated to sheltering and caring for travelers, pilgrims, the sick, and others in need, provided women with the opportunity for an alternative religious life. These shelters, hospices, and hospitals were set up all over Europe and the Latin East and were staffed either by men or women or by mixed-sex communities of various configurations.[56] Although an aristocratic woman occasionally would humble herself to nurse the poor, women in hospitals tended to be from the lower classes.[57]

Sometimes, additional hospitals or hospices were donated to, incorporated into, or associated with the original hospitaller foundation, and thus,

small hospitaller orders came about such as the orders of Aubrac, Somport, and Roncesvalles.[58] The main hospitals of these three orders were shelters for pilgrims in the Pyrenees that were managed by Augustinian canons, lay brothers, and sisters. The sisters in these hospitals were again mostly from the lower classes except in the Order of Aubrac, where some of the female members were aristocratic.[59] The Orders of Aubrac and Roncesvalles also accepted knights into their order, which suggests that they extended the physical protection of pilgrims beyond the shelter itself by providing military assistance on the road.[60]

The extension of physical protection to pilgrims also happened, of course, in the Latin East, where some of the original hospitaller orders extended their protection with military might, most notably the Hospitallers. The prototype for military orders was the Order of the Temple, but this order did not share the hospitaller mission adopted by the Hospitallers and did not share the Hospitallers' Augustinian orientation. The Templars accepted some sisters against their rule and acquired some hospitals, but both additions appear to have been distractions from their core mission.[61] The difference between the two orders becomes clear from their self-image: Templars saw themselves as the "Knights of Christ," while the Hospitallers saw themselves as the "Servants of the Lord's Poor."[62] Like the Cistercians and in line with the monastic focus on individual salvation, a Templar knight considered his fighting a service directly to God. The Hospitallers, on the other hand, saw themselves serving God through showing love for their neighbors and in particular those in need. While they took up arms, the Hospitallers never abandoned their hospitaller mission and, like hospitals, did not turn down female membership. Other hospitaller organizations that assumed military roles were the Teutonic knights, the Order of Saint Lazarus, and the struggling English Order of Saint Thomas.[63] These organizations took on the Hospitaller rule when regulating their hospitaller mission and the Templar rule when regulating their military organizations. As a result, their attitude toward accepting women was as mixed as the traditions in their rule.

Enthusiasm Curtailed

Scholars seem to agree that the apprehension regarding women's participation in male religious orders intensified during the third quarter of the twelfth century, when, as Sharon Elkins has put it, women's religious "enthusiasm was curtailed" by regulation, and, in Bruce Venarde's words, "an era of creativity and experiment came to an end."[64] Penny Shine Gold was the first to explain, in 1985, that women were included and

accepted in the early stages of twelfth-century monastic innovation but were rejected once a monastic order was established as a social pattern.[65] According to Gold, the same processes were at work in twelfth-century monasticism as those described by Max Weber for Pauline Christianity: women were included in the "early, prophetic stage" of a religion but excluded and dominated by men in the subsequent stage of "routinization and regimentation."[66] She explains Weber's pattern of progressive exclusion as follows: from the beginning of Christianity and throughout the history of Europe, the ideology of society "was characterized by a component of strong hostility to women, expressed through legal, social, and intellectual restrictions."[67] In its early stages, a religious movement may have been willing to include women because of its critique of society, its enthusiasm, and its need for support, but once it established itself, once it becomes "part of the establishment, the participation of women is no longer appropriate."[68]

In 1988, Elkins published *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England,* in which she addressed two related issues that have dominated the debate on female monasticism ever since: the increase and subsequent decrease of newly founded religious communities for women and the declining willingness of men to accommodate women within male religious orders. The innovation in female monasticism as seen in the early twelfth century, she argues, was followed by regulation, and "in the last third of the twelfth century, a distrust of monasteries for both sexes prevented their further multiplication."[69] In contrast to Gold's understanding of the exclusion of women in twelfth-century monasticism as a return to the established ideology of hostility toward women, Elkins attributes the decline of female monasticism to a "shift in values" in which female religious lost their status, without truly explaining the reason for this shift.[70]

Holy Women in Twelfth-Century England influenced a number of scholars (e.g., Penelope Johnson, Sally Thompson, Bruce Venarde) in their search for a history of the foundations of religious houses for women and the cooperation between men and women in this enterprise. Penelope Johnson argued for a very positive contemporary view of religious women in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in her study of religious women in medieval France, *Equal in Monastic Profession* (1991). However, starting in the twelfth century, men tried to "divest" themselves from the care of nuns in a slow, evolutionary manner.[71] The reason was a decline in the status of nuns, which in itself was the result of a complex process of social, economic, and mental changes, most importantly the relative increase of the status of monks and mendicants.[72]

Bruce Venarde published a study of women's monasticism in England and France in 1997, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in*

France and England, 890–1215, in which he showed that the foundational pattern of female religious houses in France was very similar to that of England; based on an extensive database of over 1,850 foundations of female monastic houses, however, he argued for a periodization slightly different from Elkins' English periodization, namely a period of expansion from 1080 to c.1170 followed by a period of decline. He attributed this decline to economic troubles, authoritarian tendencies of kings and popes that curtailed experimentation and initiative, and male discomfort with female religious on account of their sexuality.

Scholarship describes the position of women in monasticism as further deteriorating in the thirteenth century. The problem was quality rather than quantity: while there was a period of renewed interest in the foundation of religious houses in the 1220s, 1230s, and 1240s,[73] these foundations lacked the dynamic enthusiasm of male supporters. Penelope Johnson, who in her *Equal in Monastic Profession* judges the position of religious women so favorably vis-à-vis their male colleagues in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, argues that the movement that had started in the twelfth century by male orders to divest themselves from the care of nuns became general in the thirteenth century, and that "the negative view of women more closely approximated their diminished status in regular life. Changes in demography, family, social and economic patterns, the church, and group consciousness all intertwined to squeeze the vitality out of all women's experience and particularly out of women's experience."[74] Variety disappeared. Johnson uses the female Dominicans and the Poor Clares as examples; for her, they became "simply two more types" of cloistered monastic women, so that "the church's expectation that religious women would be cloistered smothered the initial excitement women had felt for the apostolic life of Dominic and Francis." She blames the church for "growing resistance and antipathy."[75]

Johnson and Venarde accept Jo Ann McNamara's influential view of negative male attitudes toward female religious in the thirteenth century.[76] McNamara finds a common theme in the history of the relationship of religious orders with their sisters, namely that the papacy forced them to take up the care of nuns despite their resistance.[77] In the end, the character of the *cura* was the same, no matter what the ideology of the order, because "insofar as [nuns] might shape a special sense of their Fontevrist or Dominican identity, they had to do so within the conditions of claustration and the contemplative life."[78] All this led up to Boniface VIII's bull of 1298, *Periculoso,* which attempted to end the experimentation with female religious life by subjecting all religious women to cloistering.[79] "How can we make sense out of this growing resistance and antipathy?

What was going on? Would that there were one answer! What I find is a complicated, multifaceted process," wrote Penelope Johnson.[80]

The segregated, cloistered nun became the ideal of the papacy, but this ideal affected reality only to a limited extent. The general trend toward marginalization of women in monastic life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a complex process. As some orders tried to divest themselves of their female membership, new orders sprung up to support women and strict enclosure was not enforced in all female religious houses for ideological or practical reasons. Clarisses accepted clausura, but Augustinian canonesses did not. Women were accepted into mixed-sex communities that served hospitals but segregated when living communally in hospices set up by Robert of Arbrissel. Control was exerted and undermined. Nevertheless, religious women's freedom of movement, financial support, and variety in religion had on the whole been diminished by the end of the thirteenth century.

The slow, nonlinear marginalization of female monasticism was the outcome of a long-standing dilemma for religious men. Men felt they should help women because religious women needed men to flourish in the highly gendered medieval society. At the same time, men, in particular monks, tried to minimize contact with women in order to protect themselves and others from breaking vows of chastity. The brothers who made up the administration of religious military orders shared the concerns and anxieties regarding interaction with women and the dilemma of the *cura monialium*. However, as the following chapters will show, each order responded to these concerns in its own particular way.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN IN MILITARY ORDERS

The religious military orders shared this in common: their members combined a professed religious life with a dedication to warfare. Less obvious is the fact that all major military religious orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had female associates, though they were always greatly outnumbered by their male counterparts. The attitudes and practices of religious military orders toward female membership, however, differed widely. Some orders, like the Templars, explicitly stated that they would not accept any sisters, while other orders, like the Hospitallers, made statutory provisions to ease the recruitment of women. Furthermore, the accommodation of women differed in practice: the Order of Calatrava supported the establishment of Cistercian convents for its sisters, the Order of Alcántara seems to have never made any special arrangements for its female associates,[1] the Order of Santiago accepted married couples as long as they vowed conjugal chastity, and the Teutonic order resolved initially to accept lay sisters only for menial work. What follows is an overview of the military religious orders' attitudes and practices regarding female membership in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, except for the Order of Saint John, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters on account of the vast evidence specific to that order. The overview shows that military orders with Augustinian roots were more receptive to having female members than military orders with Benedictine (Cistercian) roots.

The Order of the Temple

In 1129, when the Templars accepted their rule, they decided that they would no longer accept women as sisters. The rule states: "The company of women is a dangerous thing, for by it the old devil has derailed many from the straight path to Paradise. From now on, let not ladies be

admitted as sisters into the house of the Temple; that is why, very dear brothers, henceforth it is not fitting to follow this custom, so that the flower of chastity will always be maintained among you."[2] The "defenders of the catholic Church and chastisers of the enemies of Christ,"[3] as the Templars were once called, were cautious with women in general and avoided even a kiss from their mothers, because they believed it was "a dangerous thing for any religious to look too much upon the face of women." "For this reason," continues the rule, "none of you may presume to kiss a woman, be it a widow, young girl, mother, sister, aunt or any other; and henceforth the Knighthood of Jesus Christ should avoid at all cost the embraces of women by which men have perished many times, so that they may remain eternally before the face of God with a pure conscience and a sure life."[4]

The Templar attitude toward women was no doubt influenced by the cautious attitude of the Cistercians, whose support they had enjoyed in their difficult formative years. They owed much to the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who had made an eloquent argument for the acceptance of men who made religious vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, while they were simultaneously devoted to physical warfare.[5] Bernard influenced the new rule of the Templars,[6] and he and Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux (d. 1134), were both present at the ecclesiastical council at which it was presented and approved.[7] Bernard, however, was outspoken against religious women living with men, and early Cistercian statutes forbade cohabitation with women.[8] There is no direct evidence as to Bernard's opinion on the possibility of female Templars, but given the Cistercians' guarded attitude toward female membership at that time, he likely encouraged the Templars to stay clear of them.

Yet, notwithstanding the rhetoric and regulation, the Templars continued to accept women as *sorores* [sisters]. As was also the case with the Hospitallers, female association with the Templars was often the result of an association by a married couple. The first of these that I am aware of is that of Peter Bernard and his wife, Borrella, who gave themselves to the Templars on November 28, 1128, only a few weeks before the new rule was pronounced.[9] Other twelfth-century examples of female Templars are Poncia Raina, who gave herself, her daughter, and everything she owned in Douzens (France) to the Temple in 1160,[10] and the mother of a certain Odo of Pichanges, who seems to have become a Templar *soror* sometime before 1178.[11] Ramon of Seró, William of Lavansa, and Wilhelma gave an entry gift to the Templars for their mother, Romano, in 1175.[12] Furthermore, when Peter of Cintruéngo gave his castle to the Templars in 1173, he stipulated that his wife was to retain it after his death

unless she remarried or entered the Order of the Temple.[13] Rixendis gave her body and soul to the Temple commandery at Pézenas, where she expected to be buried, in 1198 or 1199. Her association, however, seems to have been confraternal.[14]

Two local confraternity lists of the Templars in Aragon and Navarre reveal that the number of lay brothers and sisters apparent from the donation charters may only be a fraction of the actual number of lay associates. The two lists together show that the Templars recognized at least 520 persons in their confraternity in the period between 1135 and c. 1182 (sixty-four women [12.3 percent] and 456 men [87.7 percent]), and six more between 1205 and 1219 (one woman and five men).[15] The lists also suggest that many of the ordinary donations in charters may actually have involved a confraternal association, but that the charters are not always explicit about this. Many entries of *confratres* or *consorores* in the lists only mention a donation at the end of life, such as a horse or mantle, and would not have been recognizable as confraternal association had the donation been recorded in individual charters.[16] Some of these female associates actually seem to have made regular vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, which suggests they were full sisters. Açalaidis, for example, promised obedience and poverty when she gave herself to the Temple in 1133 "in the service of God, under the obedience of the master, and without any personal property."[17] She emphasized her vow of poverty further, saying: "just as He [Christ] was poor for me, so do I want to be even poorer for Him"[18] The wife of Robert Hardels, together with her husband, also vowed to relinquish their property when they became members of the religious brotherhood in 1172.[19] In Catalonia, Adaladis of Subirats offered her body and soul in order to live under the obedience and rule of God and the Order of the Temple in 1185.[20] At the end of the twelfth century, the bishop of Salisbury issued a document in which he testified that Joanna, wife of the knight Richard of Chaldefelde, had vowed to remain chaste and to subject herself to the rule of the Templars.[21]

There is also one known case of a female commander of the Templar order, Ermengard of Oluja. In 1196, Ermengard and her husband, Gombau of Oluja, had given themselves and their property to the Templars of Barberá near Tarragona. Two years later, she reappeared in the records as "lady Ermengard of Oluja, sister of the Order of the Temple and at the current time commander of the house of Rourell,"[22] which was a commandery near Barberá. She was not the only sister at Rourell because, in 1197, the Templars of Rourell (without specification) had accepted a certain Titborga *in sororem religioni*.[23] When Ermengard received a new brother into her house in 1198, Titborga was one of "the

brothers and sisters of the Templar house at Rourell."[24] Gombau of Oluja, Ermengard's earlier-mentioned husband, was not named.[25] Although this case is exceptional, there is no question that Templar sisters were present in a Templar commandery at this time.

Most female associates of the Temple in the thirteenth century seem to have been lay sisters of various kinds. After the regulations of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils (1179 and 1215), confraternity was more regulated than before, but the records still show a disregard for rigid distinctions among the nomenclature of lay association. Proenza, for example, gave herself "in conversam et donatam" in 1226, and she promised a yearly contribution. She also expected burial with the Templars, promised not to affiliate with any other order, and to be good and obedient "as a *donata* and *conversa* was supposed to be."[26] Grimald of Sales and his wife, Aiglina, gave notice in a charter that "both of us, at the same time, have been received...as *confratres* and donats of the house of the knighthood of the Temple [of La Clau]" in 1234.[27] In 1267, the Templar commander of Bras in Provence considered receiving Agnes Chatella "as donat and *consoror* of the house of the Temple," and she could expect to share in the "spiritual and temporal possessions" of the Temple as was customary and regular for Templar donats and *confratres*.[28] Other examples of female confraternity include Helvis of Saint-Jean-de-Bonneval, who seems to have wanted to become a Templar associate in Champagne in 1209; [29] Margarita of Castellione, who was a *consoror* in Burgundy in 1249;[30] Beatrice of Fos, who was received in a house in Provence in 1262;[31] and Sycilla of Soigneio, who was received in Champagne in 1284, together with her two daughters, Ysabel and Margareta.[32] In 1268, Isabeau, widow of Gille of Wasiers and "consuer dou Temple," made her testament in presence of the master of the Temple of Arras.[33]

Some of the thirteenth-century female Templars had considerable influence in the commandery they had joined. For example, a Templar "donata" named Berengaria of Llorac was mentioned among Templar brothers in a witness list and reportedly gave counsel to the commander of Barberá in Catalonia.[34] In 1221, Maria Boveria, "sorori et donate" of the Templar house at Montpellier, was mentioned before the commander in a sales agreement when Willelma sold some possessions to her, the commander Caprispinus, "and all the brothers of the same house," which suggests that Maria had a prominent position among them.[35] In 1288, a certain Adelisa was *consoror* of the Temple and important as a patron when she founded a chapel for the Templars in Ghent, where she lived.[36]

A unique instance of female association is the incorporation of a Cistercian convent in Mühlen in the diocese of Worms into the Templar order in 1260. The Templar convent had license to accept up to twenty

women. It seems, however, that the house remained quite independent from the order; it continued to exist even after the Templars' dissolution when the male commandery in the same place was passed to the Hospitallers (in 1317). The sisters, on the other hand, refused to take the Hospitaller habit and were warned by the pope in 1324 that unless they did so their goods would be seized. The convent was not heard of again.[37]

The Templars were accused of treating their sisters poorly during one of the inquiries that led to their dissolution early in the fourteenth century. Violation of chastity was the issue, not the reception of women. One accusation stated that, "the masters who received the brothers and sisters of the Temple made the said sisters promise obedience, chastity, and abnegation of personal property, and the said masters promised them faith and loyalty, like to their sisters." The accusation continues, "when the said sisters had entered the order, the said masters deflowered them; and the said masters used force to bend the other sisters, who were adult, and who thought they were entering the order to save their souls, to their wishes, and the said sisters had children; and the said masters made their children brothers of the order."[38] In the end, the Templars were accused of not only the sexual impropriety that they had feared, but even rape.

The early fourteenth-century inquest suggests again that the Templars received women who took full religious vows. It is clear that, despite the official prohibition against the reception of women, the Templars allowed association by a large number of women during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some of whom became closely involved with the order.

The Order of Calatrava

The Order of Calatrava, like the Order of the Temple, was influenced by the Order of Cîteaux. It began as a militia based in Calatrava and in the service of the Cistercian Abbot Raymond of Santa Maria de Fitero in Navarre. In 1147, King Alfonso VII of Castile had captured the strategically situated town of Calatrava from the Almohads, who had crossed into Spain from North Africa ten years earlier, but in 1157 they threatened to take it back. The situation was perilous, and the Templars, who had held Calatrava since 1147, asked the king to be relieved. As the situation became dire and the king grew more nervous because he could not find noblemen who would take up the task, Diego Vélazquez sought to come to his aid. He had grown up with the king and was trained as a soldier, but had become a monk at Santa Maria de Fitero. Unable as a monk to act on his own, Vélazquez urged his abbot, Raymond, to petition the king,

and in January 1158, Alfonso granted Calatrava and all its appurtenances to Raymond and the Cistercian order. Raymond had the full support of the bishop of Toledo in deeds and words, and partly due to the bishop's supportive preaching, Raymond was able to gather a large troop, which he moved to Calatrava to set up its defense. As a result, the Muslims did not attack.[39]

The first men (and women?) at Calatrava were probably Cistercian monks, *conversi,* and laypersons who had come to its defense.[40] Little is known about its first years, but it seems that Raymond was abbot of both Fitero and Calatrava until his death in 1161.[41] The monks and the knights had separated by 1164; by that time, Calatrava was ruled by a "master," a title common for military orders, while an abbot ruled Fitero. The knights, however, wished to continue as part of the Cistercian order and in 1164 sought recognition from the Cistercian general chapter. Abbot Gilbert of Cîteaux, echoing Bernard's praise of the Templars, congratulated the knights' conversion from "militia mundi" to "militia Dei" and received them fully into the Cistercian order. He wrote to Calatrava's master, Don Garcia: "As for what you have humbly asked, namely, to have a share in the communion of goods of our order, we willingly consent, not just as though you were family brothers, but as real brothers."[42] At the same chapter meeting, the abbot of Scala Dei was charged with designing a new rule of life for the brothers of Calatrava. In 1187, the brothers of Calatrava sought an even closer affiliation with Cîteaux, and in response, they were incorporated with the Cistercian daughter-house of Morimond.[43] Thus by the end of the twelfth century, the Order of Calatrava was a military order within the Cistercian order that had secular professed brothers who were devoted to physical warfare, as well as clerical professed brothers who were devoted to spiritual warfare.[44] The latter followed the Cistercian rule, the former an adaptation of that rule.[45]

Because of the close connection between the Order of Calatrava and the Cistercian order, we should not be surprised that the two houses for sisters of Calatrava resembled Cistercian nunneries, observing the Rule of Saint Benedict and the usages of Cîteaux.[46] The first, San Felices los Barrios (also known as San Felices de Amaya), started at the request of two wealthy donors, Don García Gutiérrez and his wife, María Suarez. They associated themselves with the Order of Calatrava in 1219 by promising that if they entered religion, they would enter the Order of Calatrava, and that if one of them should die, the other would become a member. They explicitly wanted to establish a house in which the sisters of Calatrava could live "conventualiter" and serve their order. The master in turn provided the house of San Felices los Barrios in the diocese of Burgos, while the couple provided lands and money for this foundation. Both requested

burial in the newly established convent. The master and the chapter gave their consent and guaranteed they would protect San Felices los Barrios.[47] Furthermore, the abbot of Morimond guaranteed the agreement.[48]

The records of the Cistercian general chapter of 1220 show that the house of San Felices was designed to house all the sisters of Calatrava who were up until then dispersed, just as the first female Hospitaller houses had been meant to do for Hospitaller sisters.[49] Furthermore, the general chapter gave Calatrava blanket permission to establish nunneries so that, while San Felices turned out to be one of only two convents of Calatravan sisters, this limited number was not due to regulation. The chapter also specified that the houses of sisters of Calatrava were to be at a safe distance from Calatravan commanderies, a provision that reflected the attitude of the Cistercians toward their own sisters.[50]

Very little is known about the early history of the second Calatravan nunnery. It was founded in 1218 as a Cistercian nunnery near Jadraque (Guadalajara) in the diocese of Sigüenze but was incorporated into the Order of Calatrava by 1262.[51]

Given the Cistercian connection, it is unsurprising that, in contrast to Hospitaller sisters, the sisters of Calatrava followed a Cistercian, not Augustinian, rule, and their head was an abbess, not a prioress. Like Cistercian nuns, they lived in enclosed convents and devoted themselves to the divine offices. They were to dress like Cistercian nuns but with a scapular of the Order of Calatrava.[52] The Calatravan abbess was given the same status as a Cistercian abbess within the Cistercian order in 1245, but was ordered to adjust to Cistercian customs when in the presence of Cistercian abbesses (apparently the customs of the sisters of Calatrava were slightly different from those of female Cistercians).[53] She was under the jurisdiction of the master of Calatrava, who was to supply the convent with nuns, receive the abbess, provide *conversi* for the convent's maintenance, provide priests for the celebration of the divine office, and arrange for a yearly visitation. The abbess could not alienate any property without his consent. Again, the abbot of Morimond was to enforce these arrangements.[54] The sisters of Calatrava, therefore, were nuns who like the monks of Calatrava, lived according to the Cistercian rule of the order and served the order through spiritual warfare in an enclosed, contemplative setting.

The Order of Santiago

Like Calatrava, the Order of Santiago began as a lay confraternity aimed at defending Christian lands against the Muslims; in this case, the confraternity was charged with protecting the castle of Cáceres for King

Fernando II of León in 1169. In 1171, the brothers came to an agreement with the archbishop of Compostela in which they promised to act for him in the defense of his lands under the banner of Saint James (similar to the pope appealing to men fighting for the Holy See under the banner of Saint Peter). Thereafter, the brothers were known as the brothers of Santiago, after Santiago or Saint James of Compostela. The archbishop of Compostela became an honorary member of the Order of Santiago, while the master of Santiago became a canon of Compostela. In 1173, Pope Alexander III recognized the brotherhood and took it under his protection. Two years later, he approved their rule. Considering the order's connection with the archbishop and the canons, it is not surprising that this rule was Augustinian in essence, a fact that sets Santiago apart from the other, Benedictine-oriented, military religious orders of the Iberian peninsula that were influenced by the Cistercians. The military fraternity of Santiago thus became a military religious order with brother knights, brother priests (Augustinian canons), and sisters as members.[55]

The Order of Santiago was remarkable for another aspect of its rule: members of Santiago were allowed to marry, and the chastity they vowed was conjugal rather than absolute.[56] This meant that brothers and sisters could live together in their own house and have children while at the same time be fully professed religious, a arrangement that was unique in the twelfth-century Church. It also meant that women were consciously incorporated into the order from its inception.

The order, as presented to Alexander III and according to its early rule (1170 x 1173), consisted of professed brothers and sisters. The brothers could be priests or not ordained. Those who were not ordained had the option to marry and live in individual homes. If they were not married they could live in individual homes or in community in commanderies. Sisters were never ordained, but they too had the option to marry or not and could live in community or in individual houses. The early or "primitive" rule explicitly stated that "[t]hose women who do not have husbands should be asked if they wish to take a husband. Those who wish to marry should be allowed. Those who do not so wish should be placed in appropriate places and monasteries which belong to the [o]rder, where their needs will be provided for them."[57] Alexander III's bull also gave widows of brothers the option to remarry, as long as they informed their commander or the master.[58] Furthermore, men and women could also associate with the order without fully professing as lay brothers and sisters in a variety of confraternal arrangements.[59]

Some members of the order were quite influential. The infante Manuel, son of Ferdinand III and his wife, Constanza, daughter of James I, became

confreyes and *familiares* in 1261.[60] Countess Aurembiaix of Urgell became a donat in 1228 before becoming a full sister in 1229.[61] Other examples of sisters include Sancha Pérez de Azagra, *soror Ordinis de Ucles* [sister of the Order of Santiago] in 1242, and Constanza, the widow of William of Anglosola, who made her profession as *fratrissa* [sister] in 1260.[62]

The attitude of the order toward its female membership, however, had changed by the middle of the thirteenth century, and in particular during the mastership of Pelay Pérez Correa (1242–1275).[63] Pérez Correa did much to reorganize the order, including the promulgation of a new rule. His ideas affected the membership of women, who were discouraged to live outside a commandery or a monastery if they were not related to a brother of the order. From then on, women were to live with their husbands or in monasteries for women. The new rule specified: "Those women whose husbands have died are to live in monasteries, and if any of them is living a virtuous life and seeks to remains outside the monastery, if the master sees that it would be beneficial she may remain there, and if she wishes to marry she should tell her master or commander, so that she may marry with his permission."[64] Women were also to live in monasteries when their husbands were absent or in periods of abstinence.

Pérez Correa witnessed the foundation of a number of new monasteries for women. Before he came into office, the order already had some establishments for women. It is unclear, however, to which "monasterios" [monasteries] the early rule referred. The first known convents were originally houses for brothers or mixed-sex communities. Santa Eufamia de Cozuelos in the province of Palencia, Castile, was given to the order as a house for men by King Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1186. By 1195, the community included both men and women and had a female commander who was subject to a male prior. It became a house for women, perhaps, at the end of the same century.[65] Santos-o-Velho in Lisbon, Portugal, was given to the order by King Sancho I of Portugal, likewise in order to establish a house of brothers, but it became a house of sisters under the guidance of a female commander. In 1271, Pérez Correa gave the sisters all the order's possessions in Lisbon.[66] San Mateo de Ávila was a hospital with brothers and sisters under a female commander named Dominga Xemeno in 1256. It was still a mixed-sex community thirty years later, but later became a house for men only.[67]

Four other houses were specifically houses of sisters.[68] San Pedro de la Piedra (Sant Pere de la Pedra) was a convent for sisters in Lérida, Catalonia, from 1260 when Pérez Correa gave Constanza of Anglesola properties of the order in Lérida in order to establish a female house there. In addition, Constanza donated land and property of her own to benefit the foundation. However, apparently its economic situation became difficult and

in 1342 San Vicente de Jonqueres absorbed the house.[69] San Vicente de Jonqueres (Sant Vicenç de Jonqueres) was a house of female *Sanguanistas* in Barcelona, Catalonia. Garsenda, Countess of Béarn had founded it as an independent religious house in 1212, but in 1234 the foundress brought it into the Order of Faith and Peace, a new and minor military order that became affiliated with Santiago. Consequently the sisters at Jonqueres became directly affiliated, most likely in 1269.

The two other female houses of the Order of Santiago were in Léon, San Salvador de Destrania was a house of *Sanguanistas* here from at least 1266 to 1290. Not much is known about Destriana, except that the maximum number of sisters in that house was set at thirteen in 1266. It was still an existing house in 1290, but then it disappeared from the records until the fifteenth century.[70] Finally, Sancti Spíritus de Salamanca was founded by an agreement between Pérez Correa, Martín Alfonso (an illigitimate son of King Alfonso IX of León), and Martín's wife, Maria Mendes de Sousa, in 1268. Pérez Correa gave the couple property "for the foundation of Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca, in which house, you, Don Martin Alfonso and Donna Maria Melendez, will establish a monastery for sisters [*donnas*] of our order."[71]

Pelayo Pérez Correa thus founded San Pedro de la Piedra, expanded Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos, probably integrated San Vicente de Jonqueres into the order, and helped found Sancti Spíritus. He also oversaw a new edition of the rule of Santiago that limited sisters to living with brothers or in convents.[72] It seems therefore that the life of sisters within the Order of Santiago became more structured by the middle of the thirteenth century than it was before. By then, there was a distinction between the wives of the brothers, who were protected by the order but who lived in their own houses, and the sisters, who lived in convents and who dedicated themselves to the divine office and the education of the daughters of the members of Santiago.[73]

The Teutonic Order

Far removed from Spain, the Teutonic order was conceived in the Latin East in the context of the Third Crusade and later concentrated its efforts in the eastern parts of Europe. It began as a field hospital for German-speaking patients outside Acre in the winter of 1189, or more likely in the early months of 1190, and later that year, a permanent hospital was established in Acre.[74] It received recognition from the papacy on December 21, 1196,[75] and in 1197 it found support from Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI.[76] A year later, the members of the hospital had decided to take up arms. The hospital became a military order, and it was approved as such

by Pope Innocent III in February 1199.[77] A mid-thirteenth century chronicler recounts:

> It seemed advantageous and honourable to many of the German princes and magnates who were there that the rule of the Temple should be given to the aforesaid hospital (of the Germans). When this had been discussed, the German prelates, princes, and magnates who were in the East met in the house of the Temple, and called the available prelates and barons of the Holy Land to give counsel on so salutary a matter. All were in full agreement that the aforesaid house should have the regulations of the Hospital of Saint John concerning the sick and the poor, as in the past, but for the rest should have the rule of the Militia of the Temple with regard to clerics, knights, and other brothers.[78]

The founders of the Teutonic Knights thus combined welfare with warfare, very consciously imitating the Hospitallers in the former while following the Templars in the latter, borrowing from their respective rules since their papal approval in 1199. When it came to accepting women, however, they followed neither. According to the oldest surviving edition of the Teutonic rule (1264), they did not want to accept women because "women made the men go soft," but they did not want to fully reject them either, because "women were more suited than men for the care of the sick and the animals."[79] The solution was, unlike the Hospitallers, to disallow the full membership of sisters but, unlike the Templars, to formally accept women as "halvensusteren" or "halpschwesteren," that is, as *consorores,* who would wear a Teutonic half-cross on their clothes as *confratres* did. Thus according to this rule, the Teutonic sisters were supposed to be half-sisters, lay women who were to serve the order by performing menial tasks.[80]

The records of the thirteenth century, however, mention quite a few *sorores.* These *sorores* could have been half-sisters who were simply called "sisters" in manner of abbreviation, but by the end of the thirteenth century, there is a clear indication that the order received fully professed women.[81] Furthermore, a statute from 1264 specifies that lay brothers and sisters who were received into the order were to be chaste, obedient, and without property, and if they were to transgress, they were to be expelled from the order.[82] With this regulation, the distinction between a half-sister and a full sister had become minimal and is open to question. Was the acceptance of half rather than full sisters merely a case of semantics?

Some of the Teutonic sisters or half-sisters seem to have served in hospitals. Count Ulrich and Countess Adelheid of Taufers founded a hospital with brothers and sisters in Sterzing am Brenner in 1235, which the

Countess Adelheid subjected to the Teutonic order after her husband's death in 1254. By this time, she had become a sister herself.[83] There were sisters at the Teutonic house in Saarburg am Saar, which had come to the order as a hospital in 1222.[84] The commandery of Cologne had a hospital and a community of segregated brothers and sisters in 1269.[85] The order also had a hospital in Luxemburg, in which at least one sister lived in 1281.[86]

Other women associated with the Teutonic order in houses that were not necessarily hospitals. Gerburg Schonweder, for example, joined the order with her children, Peter and Matilda, in Koblenz in 1276.[87] A sole sister lived in a Teutonic house in Hemmert, near Utrecht, in 1284,[88] and another was killed during a fire in Terwete, Livland, in 1279.[89] Furthermore, the Countess of Hiltenberg entered the order with her husband in Würzburg in 1230 as a "servant."[90] The association by married couples with the Teutonic order, as with the Hospital, was relatively common: of the six women who associated with the Teutonic order in Koblenz, three were married and associated together with their husbands.[91]

According to the Teutonic rule, the sisters were supposed to live at some distance from the brothers.[92] When Walter von der Brugge entered the Teutonic order in 1290 in Beuggen, near Basel, with his daughter, he followed these statutes by building her a little house separate from the brothers'. A few years later, a sister by the name of Hiltburg of Dossenbach lived in the same little house, and she, together with two maidens, took care of the washing and clothing of the brothers.[93]

An exceptional arrangement was made for Hildegund, a citizen of Cologne, in 1269.[94] The commander of Cologne offered her a place among the brothers and sisters of his commandery in exchange for a donation. She was offered a room in a house near the hospital, commandery, and cemetery in what may have been a house for sisters, with whom she was allowed to share the table (and who had their meals apart from the brothers).[95] Hildegund was also offered a pension by the order. However, instead of the habit of Teutonic sisters, she was asked to wear the habit of a beguine, for which she herself had to pay.[96] Hildegund was therefore not a Teutonic lay sister, but a beguine supported by the order who had the option to become a Teutonic *consoror* at a later date, which she apparently did a year later.[97]

By the end of the century, the Teutonic order had a foundation specifically for Teutonic sisters at Hitzkirch near Luzern, Switzerland.[98] Unfortunately, the date of its foundation is not known, nor is there enough evidence to assess the status of the first sisters housed at Hitzkirch, but the wording of the regulation suggests that the Teutonic order accepted fully professed sisters by then. According to tradition,

the sisters there lived like nuns by the time the convent was moved to Suntheim in 1300.[99] Eleven years later, it was incorporated into the commandery of Beuggen.[100] In the fourteenth century, women's houses were also founded in Frankfurt (1344), Bern (1341), and elsewhere.[101] By that time, the rhetoric of the rule regarding sisters was no more than a relic of the past.

Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem

The Order of Saint Lazarus began as a hospital for lepers in Jerusalem sometime during the twelfth century.[102] From the little remaining evidence, it appears that it was established just outside the city's walls on the north side of Jerusalem by 1137.[103] The earliest remaining charter, however, dates from 1142, when King Fulk of Jerusalem granted "the church of Saint Lazarus and the convent of the sick who call themselves *miselli*" some property.[104] By then, the leper hospital was clearly established as a religious community consisting of sick and healthy brothers, probably some secular chaplains, and a master who was chosen from among the leprous brothers.[105] The hospital is again mentioned in the accounts of Saladin's siege of Jerusalem in 1187, which mention that it was located outside St. Stephen's gate, not far from a hospital for female lepers.[106] The presence of a separate and independent hospital for leprous women may help to explain an absence of sisters in the hospital of Saint Lazarus during the twelfth century.

The brothers of Saint Lazarus tended to be recruited from among knights and included former Templars who came to the Lazarite order after having contracted leprosy.[107] This was particularly the case after Jerusalem was lost to the Muslims in 1187 and the order's headquarters moved to Acre: The *Livre au Roi,* a royal law code from c. 1198 to 1205, states that knights should join the order of Saint Lazarus after becoming ill with leprosy, and the Rule of the Temple gave leprous Templar brothers the option to transfer to the Order of Saint Lazarus, an option that became mandatory in 1260.[108]

The close relationship of the Order of the Temple and the Order of Saint Lazarus is apparent in the Lazarite rule. At first, the Lazarites did not have a rule but rather a collection of statutes that had been drawn up with the advice of the Templars sometime after 1154. Not until 1256 did the order decide to take on an official rule, namely the Rule of Saint Augustine. The result was an amalgamation of Templar and Augustinian regulation to suit the Lazarites' needs.[109] Notably, the Order of Saint Lazarus did not adopt Templar regulation denying membership to women, and its regulations were silent on the subject of female membership.[110]

Enthusiastic patrons bestowed property in the East and the West on the Order of Saint Lazarus in Jerusalem. This led the Lazarites, like the Hospitallers and the Templars, to set up a logistical network of preceptories (grouped under regional "masters") in order to support their work in the East.[111] Most of these preceptories were occupied with managing estates rather than with warfare or care of the sick, but occasionally patrons put existing hospitals under the tutelage of the order, for example the hospital of Saint Mary Magdalene at Gotha (modern Germany), given to the order by Elizabeth of Hungary in 1227.[112]

The Order of Saint Lazarus may have been involved in military action since as early as the twelfth century, but again the evidence is sketchy. They were certainly a force of sorts by the middle of the thirteenth century. The influx of knights and, in particular, former Templar brothers may have influenced the order's attitude toward warfare; the general lack of manpower for the defense of the Latin East made their contribution urgent. However, when confronting the Muslims, the brothers of Saint Lazarus were repeatedly met with disastrous defeat.[113]

The catastrophic results in the battlefield left few to no leprous knights, and the decline of leprosy as a disease resulted in fewer potential members. It is indicative in this regard that, after the defeat at Ramleh in 1252, at which all leprous brothers were killed, the order asked for dispensation from the pope to allow them to choose a master-general from the among the healthy brothers.[114] We can also see the change from an order of lepers to healthy brothers in a preceptory like Seedorf in Switzerland, where after the middle of the thirteenth century, most if not all brothers were healthy.[115] Consequently, after the middle of the thirteenth century, the structure of the order had altered from a hospital congregation of leprous knights into a military order with mostly healthy brothers under the Augustinian rule.

The lack of possible recruits may also have effected a change in the order's attitude regarding the recruitment of women, who began to appear as sisters in records of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Before then, there was no evidence of Lazarite sisters. It is of course possible that some of the existing hospitals donated to the order, such as St Mary Magdalene's at Gotha (Germany), had female staff, because mixed-sex staff were common in leper hospitals.[116] The order certainly had female members in Switzerland by 1280 when Ita of Obmata was prioress of the Lazariter house at Seedorf (canton of Uri), which by that time had become a mixed-sex community of Lazarite brothers and sisters.[117] Seven years later, Rudolf of Schauensee made a donation to the same "women of Saint Lazarus" of Seedorf, and there is no doubt that the former male preceptory had become a female house of the order of Saint Lazarus by

1327.[118] By the fourteenth century, there were also sisters at Gfenn (canton of Zurich) and at Schlatt (Bad Krozinger, Germany), where Ita of Wassen was prioress in 1362.[119]

The fragmented documentation makes it hard to assess the attitudes of the Order of Saint Lazarus toward women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in detail. It can be concluded, however, that women did not have a place in the early hospital for leper knights—perhaps because there was an independent house for women nearby. But as the leper hospital in Jerusalem grew into a military order and the importance of leper knights diminished in favor of a wider recruitment base during the second half of the thirteenth century, women were accepted as sisters.

Order of Saint John of Jerusalem

The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem started as a hospital in Jerusalem. After the First Crusade, the hospital received increased support and became an international religious order. In 1154, it became an exempt order that answered only to the pope, and by the 1160s it had without doubt taken on a military role. Women were associated with the order as early as 1111, but the first mention of a sister [*soror*]is from 1146, when membership of the order was more defined than before. By 1177, the order started to contemplate the foundation of houses specifically for women. The first successful ones were in Spain (Sigena, 1180) and in England (Buckland, 1186). Several other houses for women followed over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the same time, women continued to live in mixed-sex commanderies, some of them hospitals. In terms of geographical reach, the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem was one of the major military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, spanning from Wales to the Latin East. The order was also one of the largest military orders on account of membership and included a relatively large number of female recruits. The history of the order and its sisters is well documented and is therefore discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Women in Military Orders

The religious military orders were not immune to the trends in attitudes toward female religious. Templars, influence by Citeaux, accepted women at first but vowed to no longer accept women in 1129.[120] The Order of Calatrava, even more closely associated with Citeaux, required its sisters to live like Cistercian nuns in a religious community at a distance of two to three days' travelling.[121] The Teutonic Knights decided to

take the Templars' example and not accept women, except as half-sisters who were not fully members of the order, because they believed that some jobs were better done by women.[122] In practice, however, they accepted fully professed sisters, and even the Templars had some female members. The Order of Santiago accepted many women, including the wives of their male recruits. Some religious military orders established houses specifically for their female members from the end of the twelfth century onwards, and by the end of the thirteenth century, twenty-two houses for women in different religious military orders had been founded.

The Order of Santiago was exceptional on the account that it was the only religious military order that purposefully included women in its organization; it even allowed its fully professed members to be married.[123] María Echániz Sans studied the women in the Order of Santiago in detail, and based on the four periods of Santiago rule between 1175 and 1260, she argues that the attitude ["la articulación normativa"] of the order toward its female membership changed. At first, women were more autonomous in their decision making, but by the middle of the thirteenth century, the order emphasized control and protection. In addition, references to celibate sisters who lived outside the order's convents without being family members of the brothers disappear by the middle of the thirteenth century. In other words, by the middle of the thirteenth century, a female member of Santiago had to be either a spouse or closely related blood relative of a brother of the order in order to live outside a Santiago monastery.[124]

Echániz Sans supposes that the reasons for this change in attitude can be found outside the order—a general change in attitude toward female religious—as well as inside it, as it changed from a lay fraternity into a religious order that became richer and more concerned with the control of its property, including that of its female members. However, she admits that the evidence is not conclusive.[125] Echániz Sans found significantly less information on secular sisters, that is, sisters who lived at home rather than in a convent in the first half of the thirteenth century. This trend coincides, according to her, with a period of increased interest in foundations for women.[126] It seems that, by then, the Order of Santiago preferred its sisters to live in convents.

The Order of Saint John had the largest number of foundations for women (fourteen) of religious military orders. Its case is interesting because Hospitallers' attitude toward female membership complicates the general picture of male attitudes toward female religious. Separate houses for women were created, but there is little sense of marginalization of the sisters. The convents for Hospitaller sisters increased the opportunities women had within the order rather than diminished them, and over all,

records give the impression that women were recruited eagerly rather than begrudgingly.

We will see how, over time, the Hospital of Saint John created an extensive hierarchy that consisted of individuals who varied in their commitment to the orders. There were lay brothers and sisters who were connected with the Hospital without making a full profession. By 1180, they can be typed as *confratres* and *consorores*, who generally paid a yearly fee and expected spiritual benefits, including burial, without expecting to become full members at a later time, or as *donati* [donats], who gave an entry fee in advance and expected to make vows and to be received as full brothers or sisters at some time in the future. There were also fully professed brothers and sisters who had taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and who were to wear the Hospitaller habit for life. However, contemporary sources are not always clear in distinguishing among types of lay associates or between lay associates and fully professed members, calling all members brothers or sisters without specification of their commitment.

The acceptance of women into the Hospital complicated the organization of the order. This was not so much the case before 1170, when only a small number of women was accepted into commanderies of brothers. However, when the number of women increased and the general opinion regarding the presence of women in religious communities swayed from acceptance to criticism, the Hospital welcomed the establishment of houses for women and, like other religious orders, aimed at segregating its membership at first. In England and in Aragon, this was done with the support of royal patrons. Notwithstanding this initial attempt to segregate its membership, evidence from the thirteenth century shows that the Hospital abandoned this project and, in larger numbers than before, accepted women in commanderies and in houses specifically founded for Hospitaller sisters. It seems that, contrary to the contemporary trend in female monasticism, which has been described as "deteriorating," the Hospitallers remained positive toward the acceptance of women.[127]

How do the foundations for female Hospitaller houses compare to those of other religious orders? In contrast to the general pattern described by Venarde, new female Hospitaller foundations were concentrated in the period from 1170 to 1190 (four houses) and peaked in the 1290s (four houses), but in general were spread thinly over the period from 1170 to 1299, and therefore do not conform to the pattern described by Venarde for religious orders (excluding the military orders) in England and France.

It must be noted, however, that the foundation pattern of Cistercian houses in southern France does not exactly conform to Venarde's pattern either. While, according to Berman's data, a relatively large number

of houses were indeed founded in the period from 1150 to 1169 (eight houses) and a decline in the number of new foundations followed between 1170 and 1189 (three houses), the number of new Cistercian foundations for women peaked in the period from 1190 to 1209 (fourteen houses). When we compare her data with the data on Catalan nunneries provided by Zaragoza Pascual, we see that the foundations in Catalonia are low but consistent at a rate of one or two per decade between 1140 and 1240, so the foundation of female Cistercian houses in Catalonia does not really followed the pattern of similar foundations in southern France. We should, therefore, keep in mind that there was a difference in the foundational patterns among the different orders and different regions.

Venarde's general model is built upon a variety of foundational patterns among religious orders. His numbers show that over the course of the centuries new foundations of autonomous (not affiliated) houses for women became less popular, but were still quite numerous, and that until c.1195, most religious foundations for women were not affiliated with an order. Furthermore, the orders that in the beginning of the twelfth century experimented with religious life for women among men (Gilbertine, Premonstratensian, and Fontevrist order) lost ground after 1150, while stricter, more rigorously enclosed affiliations became more popular (Cistercian order and later the mendicant orders). The change took place gradually, but during the period from 1176 to 1200 the two trends coincided, causing a low point in the number of new female foundations. The real crisis in female monasticism, however, took place shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, when a drastic decline in Cistercian foundations was met by a decline in autonomous foundations without enough compensation by an increase in the number of new mendicant houses.

The crisis in female monasticism does not seem to have affected the Hospitaller foundations, which remained low but steady in number. Furthermore, the low number of Hospitaller foundations seems not to have been a reflection of a negative Hospitaller attitude toward women. As we will see, the Hospitallers had spiritual, economic, personal, and political reasons for accepting women and, on numerous occasions were willing to accommodate them within their order by providing priests and other brothers in their care by securing economic survival and providing leadership.

The records of the Hospital show only one attempt to suppress a house of sisters, which was for financial, not ideological reasons.[128] Rather than suppressing or merely accepting women, the Hospital showed that it was willing to engage in litigation in order to keep female religious houses within its order. This very positive attitude

toward accepting women was an anomaly among the religious military orders. However, the military religious Order of Santiago and hospitals, which often had mixed-sex communities, welcomed female members without overt anxiety regarding their presence. The Order of Santiago was explicitly a military order, the hospitals were devoted to charitable care, and the Hospital combined both functions. They had in common, however, an Augustinian rule, which was increasingly adopted by hospitaller congregations.[129]

When we compare the number of foundations for women among the military orders [Table 2.1], there is a difference between those orders with Augustinian roots and those with reformed Benedictine (Cistercian) roots. The Augustinian military orders (Hospital, Santiago) were more open to establishing houses for women (twenty in total) than the Cistercian-influenced military orders (Temple, Calatrava) (three in total).

The Cistercian-influenced military orders, like the Cistercians themselves, showed a much greater anxiety with regard to the proximity of the female sex than the Augustinian military orders. However, the Cistercian-influenced military orders did not react in the same way: while the Templars officially renounced the membership of women, Calatrava decided to allow affiliated foundations of enclosed nunneries according to Cistercian fashion. In practice, the Templars allowed women to associate with the order and brought a convent of Cistercian nuns into the order in 1260.[130]

The Order of Santiago and the Order of Saint John, both from the Augustinian tradition, recruited women from their early history. They established houses for their sisters, in which they lived as Augustinian canonesses, from the last quarter of the twelfth century. The Teutonic order, which opportunistically appropriated elements of both traditions, treated association by women in an unusual way. Officially, it did not follow the Temple (the Teutonic order allowed women), but did not follow the Hospital either (it only allowed lay women). In reality, the Teutonic order created houses for women by the end of the thirteenth century and asked its lay sisters to be chaste, obedient, and poor.[131] The Order of Saint Lazarus began to create houses for sisters after 1260,

Table 2.1 Houses for sisters in religious military orders, by order and century.

Houses for Sisters	*Temple*	*Calatrava*	*Teutonic*	*Lazarus*	*Santiago*	*Hospital*
12th century	0	0	0	0	1	4
13th century	1	2	1	1	5	10

Note: The numbers reflect the minimum of houses for women in military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

once the order was less influenced by the Templars and had adopted the Augustinian rule.

The military religious orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries accepted the association with women to some extent but differed greatly in their approaches. Most accepted some form of association by women who were not, or not fully, professed (lay sisters). Some military orders also accepted women as full sisters. These women lived in mixed-sex commanderies or hospitals (Order of the Temple, Teutonic order, Order of Saint Lazarus, Order of Santiago), where presumably there were separate sleeping quarters for women, though we admittedly know very little about the arrangements. In the Order of Santiago, some women, mostly wives of brothers, lived at home, but as members of the order nonetheless.

By the end of the thirteenth century, a number of religious military orders had established houses specifically for women. These houses were often specifically founded by patrons from outside the order, though the resulting arrangements often differed from the those governing the orders' commanderies: Abbesses or prioresses were elected rather than appointed, numbers of female recruits were limited, and the appointment of brothers were stipulated. Furthermore, houses for women were often larger than the average commandery, and the women, called "domine," were often of a higher social background. However, again the differences in approach to female membership sets military orders apart from each other: the Order of Calatrava and the Order of the Temple had houses for sisters who lived like Cistercian nuns, and the Order of Santiago, the Teutonic order, and the Order of Saint John had houses of sisters who lived like Augustinian canonesses.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM

It might seem incongruous for women to be members of a medieval military order, even a religious military order. But the Order of Saint John did not start out as a military order. It began as a small congregation serving the hospital of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which enjoyed an increasing amount of support from men and women in the East and the West. The hospital was mostly an affair of men, but there is evidence of female members as early as 1111 as half-sisters, and by 1146 as sisters—something that would not have surprised contemporaries: many hospitaller organizations, usually small hospitals, had male and female staff and support. From about 1136, the Hospitallers were increasingly drawn into the protection of Christian lands against the Muslims. By the 1160s, they had committed to the cause. In this way, the congregation of the hospital in Jerusalem developed into an international religious military order over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the end of the thirteenth century, the order's military endeavors and its female membership were both well established. In order to understand the women's place within this religious military order, we shall discuss here how the Order of Saint John came into being, namely how it evolved from the staff of a hospital into a complex religious order and how adopting a military ethos affected its image as a charitable organization.

Becoming an Order

It is common for historians of the military orders to begin their story with the Templars, who were the first military religious, and then continue their narrative with the Hospitallers, who took up arms in imitation of the Templars.[1] While this chronology is correct, this history does little for the understanding of the early development of the Hospital. Historians have also placed the foundation of the Order, or Hospital,

of Saint John in the context of the Crusades. The success of the First Crusade, so the story goes, increased the number of pilgrims who went to Jerusalem. This increased traffic brought more business to the main hospital in Jerusalem (which was associated with the Holy Sepulcher), and it started receiving gifts in the form of real estate in the East and the West in support of its charitable activities. The new property needed management, and accordingly, its staff developed an administration. Then, gaining self-confidence, they secured independence from the canons of the Holy Sepulcher by appealing to the papacy. This independence was first recognized in the papal bull, *Pie postulatio* (1113), which historians generally consider "the foundation charter for the new order."[2]

Although the crusader context of the emergence of the Hospital of Saint John is true enough, I prefer to follow historian James Brodman's suggestion that its emergence, and that of the religious military orders in general, should be understood in the context of eleventh- and twelfth-century religious reform.[3] Since the eleventh century, the Church had tried to reform its clergy by holding it up to monastic standards. The requirement of celibacy for secular priests is an obvious example of this effect; while previously only monks or nuns were required to remain celibate, now priests too were asked to live without wives. As a result of the efforts to reform clerics, monastic ideals spilled over into secular society, and according to Giles Constable, "eventually led to monasticizing everyone."[4]

The monasticization of society was particularly evident in the changes made to previously semireligious institutions such as chapters of canons and hospitals. During the eleventh century, canons, who served the bishops and their cathedrals, were hardly distinguishable from secular society. From the beginning of the twelfth century, however, more and more cathedral canons behaved like monks: they started wearing distinguishable clothing, took vows, and lived according to a rule.[5] Hospital communities similarly monasticized. During the twelfth century, small independent hospitals, often not more than simple shelters, were erected along roads and in towns. Here, brothers and sisters worked to assist the needy and over time increasingly lived in common under a rule in a semimonastic setting.[6]

However, the Rule of Saint Benedict, by which the traditional monks or nuns lived, was not very well suited for canons or hospitallers because, while monks and nuns focused primarily on serving God through contemplation, canons and hospitallers focused on serving God through charity in the secular world.[7] The canons and hospitallers therefore looked for an alternative rule that gave them the opportunity to live up to monastic values, such as living in community and being personally poor, and at the

same time to serve outsiders with pastoral care, poor relief, or hospitality. They found this quality in the Rule of Saint Augustine, which was more suitable for an active religious life. The result was a new canonical tradition that grew out of, but became distinct from, the monastic tradition.[8]

Furthermore, it is important to view the foundation of the order as a development rather than a single act such as the promulgation of a papal bull. In the case of the Hospitallers, the papacy recognized the Hospitallers in 1113 with the bull *Pie postulatio,* and this document has often been considered the foundation charter of the "Order" of Saint John.[9] However, an *ordo* in the first half of the twelfth century was a uniform way of life, often, but not necessarily, prescribed by a rule, rather than the institution that supported that way of life. Over the course of the twelfth century, however, groups of monks and nuns developed administrative and hierarchical structures with the purpose of structuring their way of life, now commonly defined by rules. They created institutions, and *ordo* subsequently became a reference to the institution itself. The rule would become *the* defining element of a religious order in the thirteenth century, when adherence to a recognized rule became the criterion for belonging to an order.[10]

In the case of the Order of Saint John, the order was usually not called *ordo* but *hospitalis* in the twelfth century, and it would therefore be more accurate to refer to it as the "Hospital of Saint John." Its first reference as *ordo* did not occur until 1156, which is after it had adopted a rule and had gained independence from episcopal control.[11] As we will see, by this time the Hospital of Saint John had begun to acquire characteristics of a religious military order: it had a rule, it had developed an administrative hierarchy for its dependent houses in the East and the West, it had become independent from the Holy Sepulcher, it had male and female professed religious, and it had taken on some military activities. However, the term *ordo* was rarely used to describe it—the Hospitallers and their donors preferred the term "domus" [house], or more precisely the "house of the Hospital of [Saint John of] Jerusalem," when referring to their institution.

We shall begin our history of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem with its hospital in Jerusalem. The order originated in the wake of the First Crusade and the Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 as a refounded Benedictine hospital and was located across from the Holy Sepulcher. Like the numerous hospitals in the West, its foundation sprang from the root of Gregorian reform and the renewed interest in charity that this brought, beginning at the end of the eleventh century. In c.1100, this hospital consisted of a brotherhood under the leadership of a certain Gerard. Gerard is known in the history of the Hospital as its first master, but at the time, he was called its "procurator" [caretaker] or "prepositus"

[provost or prior].[12] The Hospitallers at this time seem to have been partly dependent upon the Holy Sepulcher, do not seem to have had a written rule, did not yet have extensive lands and outside support, and hence did not have an extensive administrative hierarchy. It acquired the church of Saint John the Baptist for its services, however, and became known as the hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.

The new hospital relied on the secular world for support, both from the recently established nobility in the East and from the homelands of pilgrims and crusaders, in particular Languedoc and Provence. This support came in several forms. First, there were donations of real estate, which included but were not limited to, churches, hospitals, manors, mills, and land. Second, privileges were given, such as rights to wood, income from tolls, or exemption from tithes. Third, there were donations in cash or kind. There is very little evidence of one-time donations in cash or kind unless they were accompanied by donations of real estate or privileges. Yearly payments, however, were recorded, as were certain donations of serfs or slaves (in Spain). Nevertheless, small donations, such as a chicken or a bracelet, may have been much more common than their scanty records suggest. Fourth, some donors offered themselves in service as some men or women chose to give not only their property, but also themselves, and entered the brotherhood of the Hospital as lay or fully professed brothers or sisters.

An illustrative example of an early donation is the one made by Berenger Bernard of Sant Domi and his wife, Ermesend, on January 26, 1111, who gave the church of Santa Maria of Llorac in Catalonia to "the holy hospital of Jerusalem and of Cervera," with the permission of the bishop of Vic, and asked that the *confrares* should serve the church and its parishioners. They also gave the Hospitallers several plots of land. Finally, Berenger Bernard and Ermesend pledged their bodies and souls during life and death to the same brotherhood "for the health of their parents' souls." In return for the donation, the brothers promised the couple spiritual benefits and accepted them into the brotherhood, even though they were married and expected to have more children.[13]

Berenger Bernard and Ermesenda's pious reason for their donation, namely to promote spiritual health, was typical and remained so for the centuries to come. Notwithstanding any other personal motivations donors might have, all expected spiritual benefits from giving property to the hospital, just like those they would have received had they given their property to a monastery or church. The objective of their charity was the same as the objective of the hospital itself, namely salvation through the care of the poor. The poor were considered the *familia* of Christ; to show love of the poor was to show love of Christ, and this was considered

beneficial for the donor's soul.[14] The donors expected further spiritual benefits through Hospitaller prayers and a share in the Hospital's merit.

The couple's donation of ecclesiastical property was also typical for the early twelfth century, especially in the West. By this time, and under the influence of the reform movement, it had become quite unfashionable—and according to the reform-minded, religiously incorrect—for laypersons to own churches, especially in France. By giving personal churches to religious institutions, laypersons were receiving spiritual benefits while simultaneously getting rid of inappropriate property. The Hospital also benefited: of the fourteen donations that can be dated with certainty to the period before 1113, the majority (eight) concerned the donation of one or more churches (nine in total), one a plot of land for the building of a church, and one the return of a church to its rightful owner.[15] Examples include the donation by Guillaume Pons of Champagnolles, his wife, Ermeiruz, and Adelaisce of Pignan, who gave not one but two churches to the "master of the house of the Hospital in Béziers,"[16] and that of Aimery of Muret, who gave his church and "all its belongings that belonged to it or should belong to it" to "the Jerusalem Hospital."[17] Prelates, too, supported the Hospital, like the bishop of Gap who gave the church of Saint Martin in or before 1106, or Odo, the abbot of Lézat who donated the church of Saint Pierre of Bélac, its belongings, and its village "to God, the Holy Sepulcher, the Hospital of Jerusalem, Gerard, and his brothers."[18]

The nature of the donations in the Levant reflects a different economic reality. Because it had only recently fallen into Latin Christian lands, lay possession of churches was much more rare in the Latin East. The new Christian elite, however, was numerically relatively small and owned estates or large tracts of lands that needed management and subjugation, so while in southern France and northern Spain the Hospitallers were often presented with churches, in the East the donations consisted of secular property, including manors, villages, and serfs. According to a confirmation made on September 28, 1110, by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, the property of the Jerusalem Hospital consisted of ten villages, at least sixteen serfs, at least ten tracts of land and/or houses, three ovens, a garden, and a mill, all scattered across the kingdom.[19] Furthermore, the Hospitallers owned three serfs in Nazareth and had a hospice in Antioch, in front of which the bishop allowed them to build a stable for their mounts between 1100 and 1134. [20] Still, this was a modest estate compared to, for example, the monastery of Mount Thabor, which in 1107 owned more than thirty villages.[21]

The material support by outsiders was the first step in the development from a brotherhood to the Order of Saint John. Donations of real estate and

manpower in the East and West necessitated organization, and as a result, the hospital and its staff became the center of administration for a large number of scattered estates and associates. At first, the hospital was subjected to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but in the second decade of the twelfth century, the Hospitaller master, Gerard, led an effort to become more independent by appealing directly to Pope Pascal II. The pope responded favorably to the petition of Gerard with a bull, known as *Pie postulatio* (1113), in which he expressed a willingness to support the Hospital in its care for pilgrims and the poor by exempting Gerard and his brothers from the payment of certain tithes. He also offered protection to Hospitaller possessions that had or would come to them by either donation or acquisition. The pope called Gerard "institutori ac preposito Hierosolymitani Xenodochii," founder and prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem. [22]

The pope's bull stressed that the Hospitallers' entitlements and possessions were on both sides of the sea, namely "in Asia as well as in Europe."[23] The pope seemed to have envisioned a supranational system of hospitals for the support of the pilgrims and the poor directly under the Holy See, a vision in line with the aspirations of the reformed papacy.[24] He mentioned seven specific hospitals subjected to the Jerusalem Hospital, whose names have baffled historians because only one (Saint-Gilles) can be verified as existing at this early date while others known to be subjected, such as the one at Cervera, were left out.[25] Although the evidence for a conclusive explanation is lacking, the pope apparently conceived of an organization of hospitals, perhaps like the organization of the Benedictine monastic houses but on a larger geographic scale. It is possible that hospitals in these towns (Bari, Otranto, Taranto, Messina, Pisa, Asti, and Saint-Gilles) had associated themselves loosely with the hospital of Jerusalem at that time but remained independent and never evolved into the order the pope had wished.

The Hospitallers' character as an *ordo* became more explicit after Gerard died and the leadership was assumed by Raymond of Le Puy (1120–1160), who acted as the overseer of what had become a supranational brotherhood rather than the administrator of a hospital.[26] At an uncertain date between 1137 and 1153, Raymond promulgated a rule that confirmed the present state of being of the Hospital yet changed its future nature.[27] While the rule probably confirmed many existing practices of the brotherhood, its promulgation was an important step in the institutional development of the Hospital of Saint John because the rule gave the Hospitallers a constitutional basis for the abstract framework—obedience was now directed to a rule that enforced obedience to the master rather than to a particular master himself, which meant that personal loyalty was replaced by loyalty to an institution. The rule also stipulated

who was a Hospitaller and who was not; namely, Hospitallers were those men (and women) who were uniform in their way of life by upholding the written rule.[28] Perhaps even more than the papal bull of 1113 that recognized the Hospitallers as an independent entity, the promulgation of the Hospitaller rule was a defining moment in the development from the hospital to the Order or Hospital of Saint John: The fact that a rule expressing the ideal of uniformity was promulgated, that an institutional framework to accept it was in place, and that the brothers made vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience indicated that the brotherhood of the Hospital of Jerusalem had become a religious order.

The Hospitallers only gained full independence from episcopal control when Pope Anastasius IV renewed and expanded the bull *Christiane Fidei Religio* on October 21, 1154. The original bull had allowed them, among other things, to build churches on wastelands and continue church services and the burial of Hospitallers even under an interdict. It also permitted the Hospitaller's priests to not obey the local bishop. Furthermore, lay servants could serve the Hospital, and brothers could not leave the Hospital without consent from the master and their brethren. The amended bull established the Hospital of Saint John as an exempt order directly under the Holy See, like the Templars, the Cistercians, and later, the friars.[29]

The result of papal protection was that, by the middle of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers were members of an organization of increased wealth and prestige. The Hospitallers could invest in property the money they were no longer spending on tithes. At Trinquetaille in Provence, for example, the Hospitallers strategically bought land around the church of Saint Thomas, which they served for the canons until the archbishop of Arles donated the church to them.[30] Furthermore, papal protection and its associated status increased the Hospitallers visibility with the more powerful and affluent benefactors in the West. The papacy encouraged donations with letters of solicitation,[31] and the response among the rich and influential was favorable: between 1114 and 1119, Queen Urraca of Castile and León; Theresa, widow of Henry of Bourgogne, Count of Portugal, and daughter of King Alfonso IV of Castile and León; Count Armengol VI of Urgel; Count Adalbert of Périgord; Count Raymond Berenger III of Barcelona and his wife, Douce; and Emma, daughter of Roger I of Sicily and Countess of Montescaglioso, all supported the Hospital, increasing its income and expanding its geographic reach.[32] This in turn made it easier to attract recruits and resulted in the expansion of (what became) the international Hospitaller order during the twelfth century.

The amassing of donations by the Hospitallers necessitated a more complex organization. Donors gave estates with the purpose of supporting

the poor in Jerusalem, and hence dependent Hospitaller houses were established in the East and the West in order to manage these estates. The dependent houses were called commanderies or preceptories (or simply "houses") and were usually headed by a commander or preceptor, although there were some exceptional cases where a woman was in charge as a commendatrix or preceptrix. Commanderies were typically small and consisted of no more than six members, sometimes of either sex but usually brothers only, and an array of servants. Their main purpose was to manage their estates and send a portion of their income to the Hospitaller headquarters, which were first in Jerusalem, but subsequently in Acre, Limassol, Rhodes, and Valetta. This contribution was called a responsion and was usually set at one-third of a commandery's profit.[33]

In order to deal with the administrative problem of communication between the headquarters in Jerusalem and the many commanderies in the West, the Hospitallers soon developed an innovative second hierarchical tier: the priory.[34] The Hospitallers had a priory in Saint-Gilles, a port in Provence, where a provincial chapter meeting of commanders was held as early as 1123.[35] Commanderies as far away as England and Spain were dependent on the prior of Saint-Gilles, who in turn answered to the master in Jerusalem. As more and more commanderies were established and the workload became too heavy or the communication lines too long, new priories were founded. In the Iberian Peninsula, the first priory was that of Castile and Léon (1140s), followed by the priory of Portugal (1157) and possibly the castellany of Amposta (Ampuries, northeastern Spain), as the priory there was known.[36] There were priors of Apulia and Messina, in the south of Italy, in 1169,[37] but the priory of England was probably not established until 1185.[38]

The scheme of commandery—priory—headquarters was in reality a bit more complex. Sometimes commanderies were combined under one commander, perhaps due to a lack of manpower. Sometimes houses were no more than cells where one or two brothers were in charge of the estates. And the presence of a prior did not always imply the existence of a priory. Over the centuries of its existence, the hierarchy of the Hospital was in continuous development; boundaries of power changed and new officers were put into place as the practicalities of reality required.

The order's hierarchy became even more complex with the foundation of houses for women from the last quarter of the twelfth century. Female houses were known as priories, and their head was a prioress. In rank, the prioress came somewhere between a prior and a commander, as she could in some instances only operate with the consent of the regional prior. Yet prioresses often had more independence than commanders in the internal

affairs of their houses. Furthermore, female houses, just like commanderies, could preside over dependent commanderies or cells (outposts too small to be a commandery).

The transformation of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem over the course of the twelfth century was also reflected in its membership, which grew increasingly hierarchical and complex, so that by the thirteenth century, the hospital congregation in Jerusalem had become an extensive religious order with a membership consisting of members male and female, priests and secular, knightly and common, professed and lay, all of whom had a place in the order's hierarchical scheme. It has been debated whether the earliest Hospitallers were professed brothers or not, but Pope Pascal II's bull *Pie postulatio* of 1113 suggests that they were: The pope calls the brothers "*professi,*" a term usually used for professed monks, but in this case probably a group of lay brothers (in the sense that they were not in holy orders) who had taken religious vows.[39] However, contemporary charters were not clear on the status of brothers (or sisters): the terms "brother" [*frater*] and "lay-brother" [*confrater*] were often used interchangeably.[40]

In the beginning of the twelfth century, therefore, new recruits joined the Hospital in Jerusalem or elsewhere as *confratres* or *fratres.* These recruits were mostly male but could be female. We have already seen how Berenger Bernard of Sant Domi and Ermesend joined the Hospitallers as a couple in 1111. They made their donation to the *confreres* of the Hospital and were received into their *fraternitas* even though they were married and had no intention of remaining chaste.[41] Clearly, they could not have been professed religious and must have joined as lay associates.

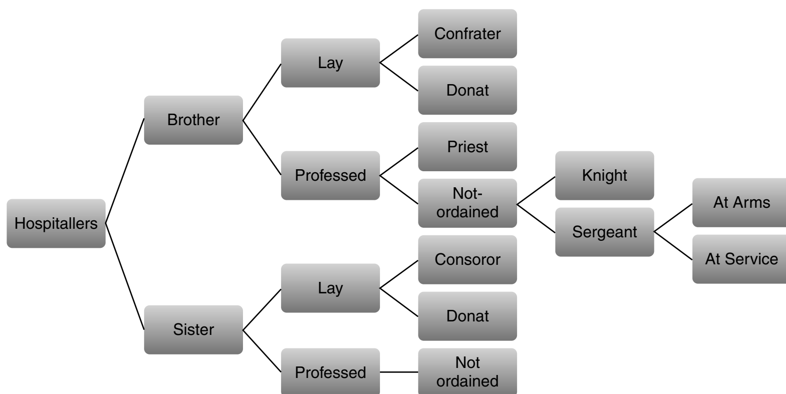


Figure 3.1 Divisions of Hospitallers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The professed members of the Order of Saint John, on the other hand, were men and women who took religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and they lived by the Hospitaller rule once it was established. In the beginning, the only distinction between professed Hospitaller brothers was one of clerical status: they were divided between brother chaplains, who were priests, and brothers who were not ordained (secular).[42] The existence of brother priests was sanctioned in 1154 and the difference in role defined: brother priests were to provide religious service while professed secular brothers were to take care of the poor.[43] From 1206, however, further distinctions were officially made among secular brothers, namely between brother knights and brother sergeants. The brother knights were members of the knightly class, while the sergeants could be of any class. This new classification reflected trends in secular society in which a knightly class was becoming more and more distinct.[44]

The female membership became more defined too. Women had associated with the order from 1111, but the first "soror" appeared in the records only in 1146. Her name was Adelis, and she professed as a *soror* during a chapter meeting of the Hospitallers of Saint-Gilles and Trinquetaille before she went to Jerusalem.[45] It seems therefore that at least by then, a distinction was made between sisters who were fully professed and those who were not, exactly like that between brothers. The absence of a separate ceremony for women suggests that professing sisters initially followed the profession ceremony for men when they committed to the order and vowed poverty, chastity, and obedience to an assembled chapter and its presiding official.[46] After c.1180, women in some regions had the option of joining female Hospitaller houses and of making their profession to an assembly of sisters and their presiding prioress. Lay sisters were women who had a formal association with the Order of Saint John as "consoror" or as "donat" but who did not make vows.[47] However, as is the case with brothers, it is often hard to distinguish between lay sisters and professed sisters in the records (both are often called "soror"), and both could have a presence in Hospitaller houses with brothers.

As the Hospitallers became increasingly involved in warfare, the brother knights became increasingly important. By the thirteenth century brother knights had become more important than brother chaplains, a precedent which they had not enjoyed in the twelfth. The sergeants, too, were influenced by the increasing importance of warfare, especially in the Latin East. They were known as either brothers-at-arms, who fought in battle, or brothers-at-service, who participated in the administration and carried out menial tasks as blacksmiths, carpenters, and the like.[48]

A Religious Military Order

The Hospital's militarization did not affect the hierarchy of its female members. There were no female knights or sergeants. Because these female members, the sisters, usually did not fight, they seem out of place as members of a military order. However, it must be remembered that the order's militarization was gradual and that it had female members before its militarization. Furthermore, the Order of Saint John was foremost a religious order, albeit one that combined hospitaller care and military service.

The earliest Hospitaller rule makes no reference to military activity. Instead, when Raymond of Le Puy and his brothers agreed upon their rule, they envisioned a truly religious life devoted to charity.[49] Like monks, Hospitaller brothers, about to engage "ad servitium pauperum" [in service of the poor], had to promise chastity, obedience, and to live without property. They also had to display behavior befitting a man in religious orders, which included wearing modest dress without fur or bright colors and wearing pajamas in bed, abstinence from meat on Wednesdays, Sundays, and during the period from Septuagesima until Easter, and the avoidance of women (in particular they were warned against letting women wash their heads, their feet, or make their beds). If one of the brothers was to be found guilty of fornication, penance would be done in secret as long as the sin was kept private, but if the scandal was public, the offender was to be severely punished in public and thereafter treated as a stranger for a whole year. The rule also prescribed silence at the table and in bed, as was the custom in monasteries, implying that the brothers would eat and sleep in common.[50] The rule was thus in line with the aims of twelfth-century religious reform of imposing monastic ideals and seeking uniformity, and it affirmed the religious nature of the Hospital of Saint John.

From the provisions of the rule, it is clear that these men, like Augustinian canons, were active in the world outside their convents and were expected to travel in small groups, actively seeking alms for the poor. Preaching and collecting were limited to a few sent to do so, but other brothers could beg for alms or lodging. Any surplus was to go to the poor of Jerusalem and be handed over with an account in writing. In turn, the Hospitallers bound themselves to offer hospitality to any sick man coming to their house by giving him spiritual support, a bed, and nourishment. This first rule does not mention medical care and does not require a house to be a hospital in the modern sense of caring for the sick. In this way, the brothers led a religious life devoted to charity rather than liturgy.[51]

Details of the rule show that the Hospitallers drew from the canonical tradition. In contrast to the Templars, who grafted a military vocation onto the Cistercian rule and, like monks, saw themselves as the poor who served Christ, the Hospitallers served Christ by serving the poor: the Templars were the poor knights of Christ; the Hospitallers were the servants of "Our Lord's poor."[52] In the opening paragraph, Raymond calls himself a "servant of Christ's poor and warden of the Hospital of Jerusalem." He and his chapter initially laid out fifteen rules, the first of which ordained that all brethren "engaged in the service of the poor, should keep the three things with the aid of God which they have promised": chastity, obedience, and living without property of their own. The second clause added that they "should not claim more as their due than bread and water and raiment, which are the things promised to them. And their clothing should be humble, because Our Lord's poor, whose servants we confess ourselves to be, go naked. And it is a wrong and improper for the servant that he should be proud and his Lord should be humble."[53]

To allow for service, the Hospitaller rule permitted a life that engaged with the secular world rule with the aim of ameliorating the lives of the needy. It limited the Hospitaller brothers' liturgical obligations and permitted, even encouraged, them to travel into the world and seek alms. Lack of a vow of stability set the brothers of military orders apart from monks and foreshadowed the Order of the Franciscans who, in the thirteenth century, earned their keep by begging.

While the order added "the defense of the catholic faith" to its stated mission only after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, it is clear that the Hospitallers participated in military activity beforehand.[54] Some of the Hospitaller property, especially on the frontier with Islam in Spain and in the East, consisted of castles as early as 1136.[55] Consequently, the Hospitallers became involved in warfare. For example, the inhabitants of Grisén, Aragon, put themselves in the hands of the Hospitallers in 1178 and gave them control over the castle of Grisén, expecting the Hospitallers to provide for their defense and safety.[56]

The first explicit reference to a class of military brothers came in an 1181 statute, which ruled that the Hospital was to maintain "brothers-at-arms," whose maintenance was considered charitable.[57] This regulatory amendment shows the increased importance of the military activities of the Hospitallers that had developed in the last quarter of the twelfth century. By this time, the brothers-at-arms had a visible presence within the Hospital and required military equipment and horses. They were knights who possessed a special status, and Hospitaller statutes specified

that a brother who was not a knight when becoming a Hospitaller could not be made a knight without special permission unless he had entered the Hospital before knighthood and could have been a knight in secular life.[58]

When exactly or why the Hospitallers militarized, however, has not been determined. The first hint comes with the accession of the second master, Raymond of Le Puy. He began his office by thanking the generous donors in an open letter of recruitment in which he compared those who gave to the Hospital to crusaders and expressed his conviction that they would receive the same benefits hereafter.[59] The prospect of reaping the rewards of crusading must have been very attractive to people in the 1120s, in whose mind the First Crusade's successes were still fresh and who could not foresee another crusade. Here, the first link between crusading and the Hospital was established, which opened the door for later militarization.

The Hospitaller order slowly took on military duties during Raymond of Le Puy's term (1120–1160), though the evidence is scant. In the past, historians have used the existence of a Hospitaller constable in 1126 as proof of military involvement, but this claim was more recently invalidated.[60] More indicative of early involvement with warfare was the decision by King Fulk of Jerusalem to put the newly constructed castle of Beit-Jibrin under Hospitaller control in 1136.[61] Although the Hospitallers could have hired others to fight, it seems likely that if the king (who acted on the advice of other lords) put this strategic castle in the hand of the Hospitallers, they had some military expertise.[62] Furthermore, a charter of the same year states that giving arms to the military confraternity of Belchite was the spiritual equivalent of giving arms to the Templars or Hospitallers.[63] During the 1140s, there are more indications of Hospitaller militarization, though again the references are not explicit. In 1144, Raymond of Tripoli gave the order control over Crac, a castle on a strategic site, as well as other castles. He also shared booty with them and agreed that he would not make peace with the Muslims without their consent.[64] In 1148, during the Second Crusade, Hospitallers were present when the decision was made to attack Damascus.[65] In the same year, Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Barcelona, gave the Hospitallers the stronghold of Amposta, and they were present at the siege of Muslim Tortosa.[66] Similarly, they took part in the siege of Ascalon in the Latin Kingdom five years later.[67]

There is no doubt, however, that the Hospitallers had become a military order by the time of Gilbert of Assailly's mastership (1163–1168). During this time, the order purchased castles for the first time and had military officials. Gilbert's interest in warfare was particularly clear when

he pressed for an invasion of Egypt and promised 500 knights. The invasion was disastrous, the order fell heavily in debt, and Gilbert resigned in 1168.[68] After Gilbert, members of the order expressed concern over its military activities but wondered how much rather than whether to participate; by that time the Hospitallers could certainly be considered a military order.

The increasing militarization of the Hospital did not take away from the Hospital's identity as a religious order devoted to charity because its military activities, which included protecting pilgrims and defending Christian lands, were seen as an extension rather than an aberration of its charitable services. Studies have shown how the Christian message and military action were reconciled in the High Middle Ages. From them we can conclude that caring for the poor and fighting against the infidel were both viewed as services done out of love of God and were therefore charitable activities. Both were manifestations of the new piety of the twelfth century.

Christianity, with its message of love and peace, has a long and uneasy history of allowing for the violence innate in human nature. In a brilliant but simplified study, Carl Erdmann (1935) showed how in the eleventh century the leading churchmen, who were zealous reformers of the Church and Christianity at large, were also the architects of the crusading idea. In the eleventh century, the reform of Christianity at large meant extending Christian morals to the laity and hence influencing the ethics of knighthood.[69] As the Church reached out to the knighthood, it could not simply reject war but instead had to accommodate it, and therefore was forced to relax its attitudes toward war.[70] The result was "a growing rapprochement and a concomitant weakening of its aversion."[71] Pope Gregory VII, a proponent of aggressive expansion of papal power, "harmonized warlike practices with the ethical ideal of the church" and found justice and spirituality in war that served his ecclesiastical aims.[72] Pope Urban II continued Gregory VII's policies but grafted pilgrimage onto the idea of a crusade.[73] It must be noted that, in contrast to most scholars, Erdmann did not believe that pilgrimage was the main component of the original idea of crusade. Instead, he believed that Urban II's "original and primary basis was the idea of an ecclesiastical-knightly war upon heathens, and only in the course of bringing it about did he introduce pilgrimage as a subordinate theme."[74] The original idea of crusade then was Gregory's concept of a holy war in aid of the Church, and by extension Christianity, and Urban's idea of an armed pilgrimage gave Gregory's concept appeal to a large audience of knights. Thus the reformers brought Christian spirituality to terms with violent warfare.

Jonathan Riley-Smith (1980) explains further how reform and the subsequent spiritual awakening of the laity related to crusading in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The reformers had made current the foundation of Christian ethics, that is, love—love of God and love of one's neighbor. The concept of Christian love was communicated to the knights, who understood it in their own terms and expressed their love of God in the same way that they manifested love of their feudal lord and family: through military action and protection. Christian knights showed their dedication and love of God through crusading. "In fact," Riley-Smith concludes, "as manifestations of Christian love, the crusades were as much the products of the renewed spirituality of the central Middle Ages in its concern for living the *vita apostolica* [life in imitation of that of the apostles] and expressing Christian ideals in active works of charity, as were the new hospitals, the pastoral work of the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians, and the service of the friars."[75] Hospital care, pastoral care, and crusades were three ways to show Christian love through service. They sprang from the same root.

The tension between Christian ethics and warfare was particularly acute with the establishment of the Templars, who combined soldiering with religious life and who were at once knights and monks. Their order drew criticism, but it was defended solidly by none other than Bernard of Clairvaux, arguably the most influential churchman of the twelfth century, who made the convincing case that the Templars acted out of love.[76] Much of his rhetoric echoed the arguments for crusading and was ultimately based on the thoughts of Augustine, who had argued for the possibility of a just war.[77] By the 1130s, the Templars were well-known for their military actions against the infidel and were supported by pious donations. Their self-sacrifice and dedication through battle, as expressed in their rule, was approved by the Council of Troyes in 1129 and praised by Bernard in his *De Laude Novae Militiae*.[78] In 1139, Pope Innocent II praised the Templars and their works as an ideal of Christian love, claiming that they were burning with the flame of true love of God, "verae charitatis flamma succensi," and were true Israelites and warriors equipped for divine battle.[79] He further supported their cause as an act of love by quoting the Gospel of John (15:12–13): "No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends," a verse immediately following Christ's command to love one another "as I loved you." Fighting for the faith by a religious brotherhood thus became an apostolic enactment of love and an expression of *caritas* compatible with a religious life.

Did the Hospitallers face similar criticism for combining a religious life with warfare? The short answer is no—and not just because the Templars

as "defenders of the catholic faith and the attackers of the enemies of Christ" had prepared the way for the Hospitallers. James Brodman (1999) argues convincingly that Templars and Hospitallers were different in essence inasmuch as they drew from two distinct traditions. Templars, who came from the monastic (Cistercian) tradition, had to make the case for combining the sword and contemplation. Much of the uneasiness at first felt by twelfth-century society about the Templars was due to the fact that they combined two orders in society, two ways of life, which before had been diametrically opposed. The Hospitallers, on the other hand, came from the canonical tradition in which action in the world was desirable, and they joined care for the poor with military activity.[80] Because through the practice of crusading it had become generally accepted that fighting the infidel was an act of love, the Hospitallers could become involved with the defense of the Holy Land without compromising their image as an ideal of a charitable order. The Hospitallers' military activities were another act of charity.[81]

Indeed, the criticism the Hospitallers faced at first arose not because they were involved in fighting the infidel, but because their military activities were either too much or too little. Pope Alexander III and others accused the Hospitallers of taking away resources from the care of the poor.[82] At the same time, and in particular when the military situation in the Holy Land grew dire (and especially after its loss in 1291), the Hospitallers were criticized for not doing enough for its defense. They were accused of pride, greed, and intemperance but not blamed for their involvement in warfare.[83]

Brodman's study is right to point out that there were essential differences between the Templars and the Hospitallers.[84] Both were religious orders engaged in warfare, but each was grafted onto a different approach and had a different self-image. The Templars were warrior-religious in the Benedictine tradition and officially did not allow women to be full members. The Hospitallers were hospitallers in the Augustinian tradition in essence, proud of their care of the poor and earning respect and donations for that purpose. They were careful with women (as any right-minded religious man would have been), but they did not dismiss their profession.

A Hospitaller Order

The Hospitaller order, then, came to have a dual charitable mission: defending the Holy Land and caring for the poor and sick. It was particularly famous for its hospital in Jerusalem (before 1187). The innumerable donations in the West to the poor and the Hospital of Jerusalem illustrate

the Hospitallers' reputation for charity.[85] Jerusalem spoke to the patrons' imagination because of its religious connotation. Later patrons made references to the defense of the Holy Land or the fight against the infidel, but most donations were made for the service of the poor of Jerusalem.[86] Pope Alexander III himself noted that the Hospitallers were to devote themselves to the poor, in whose service they were established, and were to fight only when absolutely necessary.[87]

Visitors to the Holy Land equally showed an admiration for the charity of the hospital in Jerusalem. Already in c. 1140, Nikulas of Pverda, an abbot visiting Jerusalem on a pilgrimage from Iceland, wrote, "The centre of the earth is there [just outside the Holy Sepulcher], where the sun shines directly down from the sky on the feast of Saint John. On that spot is the hospital of John the Baptist, which is the most significant in the whole world."[88] In c. 1160, John of Würzburg, praising the same hospital and the works of mercy it performed, exclaimed, "What more can I say! This house feeds so many human beings, and gives so huge an amount to poor people, either to those who come to the door or remain outside, that certainly the total expenses can in no way be counted, even by the stewards and dispensers of this house."[89] He mentioned both the Templars and the Hospitallers as performing works of mercy, with the Hospitallers, however, outdoing the Templars tenfold.[90] A monk from Germany named Theodoric visited Jerusalem in 1169 and likewise described the hospital in admiration:[91] "I would not trust anyone to believe it if I had not seen with my own eyes how splendidly it is adorned with many rooms and bunks, which the poor and the weak and the sick can use. What a rich place this is, and how excellently it spends the money for the relief of the poor, and how diligent in its care for beggars."[92]

While not as large as the hospital of Constantinople, nor providing medical care as advanced as that in Baghdad, the twelfth-century Hospitaller hospital was quite impressive. The hospital had probably 900 to one thousand beds but could house up to two thousand patients in an emergency.[93] The detailed regulations for the hospital in Jerusalem—the heart of the Hospital—in the last quarter of the twelfth century give some idea of its workings: In 1176, the chapter general granted the privilege of white bread for the sick, emphasizing the idea of the poor as lords.

The idea that the sick should get the finest white bread was reiterated in a set of Old French regulations (1181x1187) that described in a somewhat chaotic way the Hospital's obligations toward its patients.[94] Among other things, the Hospital set apart 1,500 bezants for the care of the sick in the Jerusalem hospital and dedicated the production of several estates to their upkeep.[95] Doctors were hired who were to "observe closely the condition of the sick and what illness they have, and should inspect their

urine and give syrups and electuaries and other things which may be necessary for sick people."[96] Hygiene was to some extent maintained by giving patients the opportunity to wash their hands before eating and supporting patients who needed to use the privy chamber.[97] If patients failed to go on account of weakness, "the sergeants [and brothers] should clean and wipe them gently" and give them clean "white linen sheets which are soft and fine."[98] Besides luxury bed linens, the patients could expect luxury foods, such as "hens . . . prepared in a good sauce, very well seasoned and done with saffron." However, "eels and cheese and lentils and beans and cabbages and other foods which are contra-indicated for the sick, we prohibit them to be given to them."[99] According to this manuscript, the Hospital intended to care for its patients very well.

The Old French regulations wrote down procedures already in place and may have been related to the new series of customs "for the support and benefit of the sick poor" that master Roger de Moulins and the brothers issued in 1181 or 1182.[100] These rules include decrees such as the appointment of "four wise doctors," the distribution of boots for going to and from the latrines, the provision for cradles for newborn babies, and the order that the commanders "serve the sick cheerfully." The priories each had to make its own specific contribution in kind as part of its "responsion," which was the obligated contribution to support the central convent, so that, for example, the prior of Italy was to send two thousand ells of fustian (a heavy cloth) to Jerusalem and the prior of Mont Pelerin (Tripoli, Lebanon) sugar for medicine. The care of the poor of Jerusalem was extensive; the brothers and sisters received sick men and women, raised orphans, gave alms to newly released prisoners and other poor, and much more.

The richest description and fullest praise for the charitable works of the Jerusalem hospital, however, comes from an anonymous author who stayed there some time during the 1180s. His description, unique in its detail, is preserved in manuscript Clm. 4620 of the Bavarian State Library in Munich. The otherwise elegant Latin contains many errors, presumably the mistakes of a negligent scribe.[101] The manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy containing the miracles of Saint Mary, a letter from Jerome, and several miscellaneous works pertaining to the Order of Saint John, including the treatise on the hospital in Jerusalem. The last is an incomplete text consisting of three parts: first, a theological understanding of *caritas* and its relation to the hospital in Jerusalem;[102] second, a description of the charitable works bestowed upon the sick in this hospital; and third, the beginning of a detailed account of its care for poor (but healthy) children and adults. Then the text breaks off prematurely in mid-sentence.

The first part of the account of the twelfth-century Hospital of the Order of Saint John in Jerusalem is important for the connection it makes between the intellectual understanding of *caritas* and its expression in practice. It illustrates the importance of the hospital in Jerusalem and its charity for the Order of Saint John—this is the essence of its being, the reason for its existence, and the foundation for its support. For this reason, the author begins his description of the hospital with the history of salvation in which *caritas* takes the central role.[103]

The second part of the treatise describes the workings of the Jerusalem hospital. According to its author, the patients were divided over eleven wards, with a separation of men and women. Each ward had its own brother in charge and twelve lay brothers in attendance who would have room and board in the convent and receive money at their retirement. These attendants were responsible for most of the care of the patients: making the beds, carrying or supporting patients when walking or eating, bringing them water, making sure that they would not wander off without permission, washing them, and so forth. Besides brothers, the hospital had a number of sisters.[104]

The brothers and sisters of the hospital were in charge of the patients' diets. A good diet was considered essential to strengthen the patients, and their appetites were closely watched. The brother of the ward was responsible for the acquisition of foodstuffs. When treating the seriously ill, the hospital employed four *theoretici,* doctors with medical training who were not allowed to take money from patients. The hospital also employed bloodletters and surgeons. The person who had the title of hospitaller was in charge of all the hospital staff, its brothers on the wards, its sisters, lay brothers, servants, and specialized employees.[105]

The sisters of the house were in charge of care for children because they knew "the care of little ones better than males."[106] The hospital had a separate division for the care of women and children. Pregnant women could come to the hospital to give birth in a specialized ward with a private kitchen. Furthermore, the women had access to warm baths. If the mother was unable or unwilling to nurture her newborn, the hospital provided a wet nurse. Women who had given birth at home but were too poor to clothe their babies received cloth for swaddling. Other women who had given birth to twins or who were desperate on account of their poverty would come to the hospital in secrecy and leave their child to be found. These infants were put in the care of wet nurses, who were inspected and paid by the sisters of the house and who were assigned "to visit the little ones and to wage humble watchfulness over them."[107] Foundlings and orphans were adopted by the Order of Saint John, and once they reached adulthood, they were allowed to choose whether they

would assume the habit of the house or "embrace the seducing enticements of the jeering world."[108]

Charity was not limited to the hospital in Jerusalem. Dependent priories and commanderies sometimes had hospitals and provided care, too, albeit on a smaller scale. Medieval hospitals in the twelfth century were not characterized by a medical facility but, like hospices, by their care for outsiders, which contrasted with the private care provided by physicians at home or in monastic infirmaries meant for members only. Hospital clients—pilgrims, beggars, orphans, or anyone who needed care—received a mixture of spiritual, physical, and medical attention. "House of charity" describes a medieval *hospitale* more accurately than "hospital" in its modern sense.

The lack of a single clear description of the nature of medieval hospitals, combined with the confusion that "hospitaller" or "hospital" can refer to a hospital, the Hospital, or both, makes a systematic overview of which commanderies were also hospitals difficult. However, while the evidence regarding each individual commandery is, with some exceptions, limited, cumulative evidence suggests that the Hospitallers were more devoted to hospital care in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than has hitherto been put forward. The Order of Saint John ran hospitals not only in Jerusalem but also in Nablus and Acre, and had hospitals or hostels in Mont Pelerin (Tripoli) and Turbessel (Edessa) in the twelfth century.[109] In the West, there is evidence that suggests that the commanderies of Clanfield (England), Carbrooke (England), Champignolles (France), Bargota (France), and Cervera (France) had hospitals. Furthermore, a house of Hospitaller sisters at Aconbury, England, may have had a hospital because, when it was freed from Hospitaller control, the Pope ordered that some elderly women should stay to take care of the poor and the sick.[110] In Italy, the order evidently managed hospitals in Genoa, Verona, and Pisa.[111] Furthermore, Boxerols in Spain and Beaulieu in France came to the Hospital as existing hospitals.[112] Finally, there was a Hospitaller hospital in Toulouse, France, where a mixed-sex community of Hospitaller brothers and sisters took care of the poor.[113]

For the Order of Saint John, the timing for the general change in attitude toward female religious roughly coincided with its gradual transformation into an international religious order. In the beginning of its history, the Hospital or Order of Saint John of Jerusalem was no more than a congregation of brothers (and perhaps sisters) serving a hospital in Jerusalem with the support of benefactors in southern France, northern Spain, and

the Levant. Enthusiastic support, however, caused a fast increase of geographically dispersed property and necessitated an increasingly complex organization.[114] During the mastership of Raymond of Le Puy (1120–1160), the quickly growing brotherhood sought to further organize and define itself, produced a rule, and in the process became a religious order. Membership became better defined, and in c. 1146 the first reference to a Hospitaller *soror* appeared. From 1154, on the Hospitallers were no longer a local hospital under the episcopal see; they answered directly to the pope and received his support and that of other powerful leaders across Europe. In the meantime, it increasingly assumed a military function, so that by the third quarter of the twelfth century, the Hospital of Saint John was one of the better-known military orders. By the end of that century, the Hospitallers were the male and female members of a religious order devoted to hospitaller care, religious contemplation, and military endeavor who were involved in economic activities in order to "serve Christ's poor;" and by the beginning of the thirteenth century, their lives were more specialized, more structured, and less apostolic than a century before. As the brotherhood of the Hospital of Saint John had developed into a religious order, Hospitaller life had changed accordingly. For the women in the order, this meant a more defined distinction between professed sisters and lay sisters, foundations of houses for sisters only, and a new focus on the Divine Office.

CHAPTER 4

THE LAY SISTERS OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM

Women who associated themselves with the Hospital of Saint John during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a growing number of options. They could take vows as fully professed sisters and join a commandery with brothers or, from the 1180s, a priory of sisters. Or they could remain lay and associate as *consorores* or donats. Like their male counterparts, female lay associates were not fully professed and therefore had a lesser status in the Hospital and usually did not live in a Hospitaller house. However, we should not dismiss their importance. Depending on their social status, they could have had considerable influence on the Hospital, though often in an unofficial capacity, and they could have been important politically because of their wealth and connections. In some cases, lay sisters greatly enhanced the Hospital's charitable and spiritual standing.[1] We should also remember that, although they were not fully Hospitallers, they were part of the spiritual family of the Hospital of Saint John and shared in its merit.

The Debate on Lay Association

Historians have had difficulties drawing a distinction between the different types of lay associates of the Hospital of Saint John, partly due to the amorphous nature of lay association and partly due to the lack of a thorough study. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx divided the lay associates into two separate categories, the "*confrères*" and the "*donats*," in his *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310* (1904). He claimed that the association as *donat* was very much the same association as *confrère,* except that *donats* had to be of noble birth and their admission depended upon the approval of the master of the Hospital. *Confrères* shared in almost

all the spiritual benefits of the Hospital and were buried in Hospitaller cemeteries. In exchange, they gave an annual donation in recognition of their confraternity and promised to defend the Hospital. Furthermore they promised that if they were to enter into religion, they would become Hospitallers. The confraternal association was marked by a public ceremony. The main difference between *confrères* and *donats* was that the latter had the serious intent of joining the order as fully professed brothers or sisters at a later date. Their later conversion was marked by processions through town with trumpets and drums, a practice denounced by the general chapter at the end of the thirteenth century. However, having divided the lay associates into these two groups, Delaville le Roulx concluded, "The confusion between the terms '*confrater*' and '*donat*' did not take long to establish itself and, after the time that concerns us [1310], only the latter term existed."[2] Apparently, the division between the two terms was not as clear as his description implies. The problem with his analysis is that it is based solely on regulatory statutes of the thirteenth century—he did not give attention to documents of practice, which resulted in a definition that is unified in time and place but does not reflect historical development or regional divergences.

Jonathan Riley-Smith further elaborates on the distinction between the two types of lay associates in *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (1967). Calling Delaville Le Roulx's *confrères,* "*confratres*" and his *donats,* "donats," he improves upon Delaville Le Roulx methodologically by using evidence from charters, not just statutes, and by introducing a nuanced chronology. Basing himself on individual cases from the *Cartulaire général* and the *Colección diplomatica* of Navarre, Riley-Smith argues that donats were *confratres* who were distinguished in three ways: "they were of noble birth, had the definite intention of entering the Hospital and were received in a slightly different ceremony."[3] Therefore, while Delaville Le Roulx discusses the two forms as separate types of association, Riley-Smith views the donat as a special type of *confrater,* but concurs that the distinction between the two categories is at times difficult to draw. Combining charter evidence and regulations, Riley-Smith notes that the first confraternity can be found in 1111, that the first donats "can perhaps be found in the twelfth century"[4] (an uncertainty that comes from a lack of direct evidence), and that the regulations for confraternity changed over time. For example, although a donat could become a brother without consent of the chapter before 1292, thereafter no more donats were to be received without a special license from the master, except on the frontier with the Muslims. Finally, Riley-Smith makes his readers aware that both men and women joined in bonds of confraternity and that there were other types of associates, among them

those who chose their burial with the Hospital without being *confratres* in a strict sense, married couples who kept the usufruct of their property after donating it to the Hospital, and women who received corrodies in return for their confraternity.[5]

More recently, Alain Demurger agrees with Riley-Smith in *Chevalier du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge* (2002) that a Hospitaller donat was a more serious *confrater,* but contends that the donat, he or she who gives him or herself to the Hospital and enters a state of semireligious, supplanted the *confrater* during the thirteenth century.[6] Demurger's insights are partly informed by Charles de Miramon's *Les donnés au Moyen Âge* (1999), a thorough work on the lay religious life of donats from c. 1180 to c. 1500. However, Miramon argues that donats (whom he calls *donnés*) were substantially different from *confratres* and that they developed not out of confraternity but as a new institution, an argument that Demurger ignores.

Miramon contends that the increasing popularity of association as donat resulted from the Church's criticism of confraternity beginning around 1180. The Church did not like the lack of vertical hierarchy that resulted from confraternity, for it meant that laypersons received spiritual benefits as if they were clergy.[7] Donat association still fulfilled the desire to institutionalize lay piety, but it circumvented the blurring of hierarchy by making lay associates a "religious-to-be;" they remained lay until they would take the habit of the religious order with which they associated, but because this could happen at death, they were secure in the legitimate spiritual benefits of a religious thereafter.

The exact origin of donat association is obscure. Miramon notes that the first donats were among the Cistercians of Nonenque and Poblet.[8] The Order of the Temple, which had begun as a confraternity and for which lay association had remained important, was also one of the first to experiment with donats: Dominico of Batizo and his wife, Maria, were accepted "*per donatos et per fratres*" by the Templars at Huesca ot Monzón in northern Spain in 1176.[9] We might add that the Hospitallers had similar lay associates as early as 1177 at Saint-Gilles in southern France.[10] Donats, however, could be found most frequently in medieval hospitals, which were religious establishments where the institutionalization of lay piety was most striking.[11]

The following study of female association with the Hospital of Saint John in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries agrees with Miramon's belief that confraternity, or association as *confratres,* and association as donats were in essence separate institutions. Both were forms of lay association: a *confrater* or *consoror* was a layperson who shared in spiritual benefits through yearly contribution, while a donat was a religious-to-be

who had given a large donation similar to an entry gift. Neither of the two categories had a formal definition, and association depended on the specific agreement between the associate and the Hospital. General characteristics of these cases can be discerned based on further examination. It must be stressed, however, that a donat was not merely a more serious *confrater*—the association of the *confrater* and the association of the *frater*-to-be were fundamentally different.

To complicate matters, the usage of words describing associates does not always correspond with the analytical category. We can, for example, categorize the association of a certain person as a donat-type association, while in the text, he or she is referred to as *confrater* or *consoror.* This happened because the regional usage was more important than the actual type of association when it came to choosing words to describe lay association.

Consorores and Donate

Women (or couples) identified themselves as *consorores* or *confratres* in only a small number of documents that speak of lay association of women with the Hospital of Saint John in the West. The two earliest *consorores* known are Ermesend (who joined the brotherhood of the Hospital of Jerusalem in Cervera with her husband in 1111) and Beatrix of Roset (who became a *consoror* at Gap probably before 1121, but at least before 1143).[12] We must remember, however, that early in the twelfth century, consorority did not have the same meaning as later in the same century when a sharper distinction was made and a *consoror* was of a lesser status than a *soror* who had made a full religious profession.

Later examples of *consorores* in the West are rare: Pereta and her husband, Petrus of Ulzina of Calid, explicitly became *confratres* at Barcelona in 1198, promising a yearly contribution and expecting a burial with the order, and like Pereta and her husband, Sibila and her husband, Peter, became *confratres* of the Hospitallers in Barcelona two months later.[13] Bonasciutta, daughter of Bonincontra of Campo, became *consoror* in the church of the Holy Sepulcher of the Hospital of Saint John in Verona in 1286. In her charter, she states that she had put her hand on the book in the lap of the prior of Venice and Rome (most likely kneeling before him) and promised the Hospital counsel and protection, not unlike a feudal arrangement. In return, she was made "*consororem et confratrem*," was allowed to share in the spiritual benefits of the Hospital, and was promised assistance in the event of poverty.[14]

Bonasciutta's charter reflects the ceremony that had become conventional for the acceptance of *confratres.* The customs of the Hospital (c. 1239) give a description of this ceremony: If one wanted to become a

"*confrere,*" he or (less often) she needed to approach the master or commander of the house, who in turn collected all the brothers. The candidate then came forward during the assembly and put his hands on the missal while promising to defend and protect the order, and not to do it any harm. As a *confrater*, he could expect burial in the Hospitaller cemetery of the house he joined. If he were to enter religion, he was bound to enter the Hospital of Saint John. In recognition of his fraternity, he would make a yearly contribution. After the postulant's oath, the person receiving the *confrater* would say, "For the promise which you have made to God, Our Lady, Our Lord Saint John the Baptist, and Our Lords the Poor, we will commemorate you, and the souls of your father, mother, and ancestors during the masses, matins, vespers, and all other hours every day and in every house of the Hospital until the Day of Judgment, of which, we all hope, the Lord will make you part." At the end, the presider would give the kiss of peace, and so would the other brothers present, and the name of the new *confrater* was put in the book with the names of the other *confratres*.[15]

Miramon rightly notes that these customs and other regulations on confraternity came about *after* this institution had lost its eminence in the West. However, while confraternity became increasingly unpopular for women in the West, it probably remained the sole form of lay association for women in the East: of the six women who are known to have associated themselves, all joined in bonds of confraternity. They are described below. Although their number is small, the fact that all female lay associates in the East called themselves *consoror* (or *confrater*) is significant because it explains the general chapter's regulation of this institution and explains why, as Delaville Le Roulx notes, confraternity ceased to exist after 1310: by 1291, the Latin East had been lost to the Muslims.

The first *consoror* in the East for whom records survive was a woman from Jerusalem named Gila who seems to have been rich, but not noble. In a complicated transaction, which was part sale, part charitable contribution, she sold the Hospital of Saint John a house in Jerusalem in 1175 with the consent of her son, Peter. In return, she expected that she and her son would share the Hospitaller benefits as members of the Hospital's confraternity, for which they had placed their hands on the altar. Association brought Gila and her son security but was a gamble for the Hospital: The Hospitallers would receive the inheritance of Gila and her son after they had given them a Hospitaller burial. However, if Gila and her son were to fall into poverty, the Hospitallers were bound to care for them.[16]

Other women who we know to have become *consorores* were aristocratic, like Constance, who was the daughter of King Louis VI of France, sister to King Louis VII of France, and countess of Saint-Gilles. She first

married Count Eustace VI of Boulogne but was widowed in 1154, and in 1156, she married Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. They had five children, including a son, Raymond, who became count after his father died and who married Joan Plantagenet, the daughter of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Constance's second marriage ended in divorce in 1165 or 1166. Thereafter, she went to Jerusalem and between 1177 and 1179 bought the *casal* (or village) of Bethduras in the plain of Ascalon from John Arrabi, who held it from Balian II of Ibelin. She donated Bethduras to the Hospital with Balian's consent shortly before he became *confrater* himself.[17] In 1178 or 1179, she made her donation for the health of her soul, as well as that of her parents, her brother Louis, his son Philip, her own children, and all of her kind (but not her former husband's!), and she expected a Hospitaller burial as *consoror,* a yearly service for the benefit of her soul, and a yearly pension from the property as long as she lived and was staying in the East.[18]

When Balian II of Ibelin and his wife, Maria Comnena, gave land to the Hospital of Saint John at Jerusalem in 1179 or 1180, they identified themselves as *confratres.*[19] Like Constance, Maria was wealthy and highly noble: she was a distant relative of the emperor of Constantinople and was queen consort of Jerusalem on account of her previous marriage to Amalric I of Jerusalem.[20] It is likely, however, that her association was due more to Balian's political ambitions than to the princess's religious sensibilities, although confraternity by a Greek Christian was not unprecedented.[21]

The fall of Jerusalem and the loss of the Hospitaller headquarters only temporarily disrupted confraternal relations. After the Hospitallers had reestablished themselves in Acre, Cristiana, daughter of Roger of Caiaphas [Haifa] and vassal of Rohart, lord of Caiaphas gave them the casal that she held from him.[22] She became a *consoror* in 1201.[23]

In February 1207 or 1208, Rohart's mother-in-law, Juliana, donated a house to the Hospital and became a *consoror* with the consent of Aimeric of Layron, lord of Caesarea, and her rich and influential second husband.[24] The lordship of Caesarea had come to the couple through her, as her father was the former lord of Caesarea.[25] At the same occasion, but in a separate charter, she gave the casal of Pharaon and Seingib to the Hospital of Jerusalem. Furthermore, she chose to be buried in the Hospitaller cemetery as *consoror* and friend [*amica*].[26] Even though she was married, she associated with the Hospital independently. She promised not to join any other religious order, while the brothers were held to give her the habit well-willing and with love, in death or during her lifetime, at her request; "and, as long as I shall live, the house cannot and must not fail me as sister."[27]

Sometime before June 1255, Margaret, Juliana's and Maria Comnena's great-granddaughter and heiress of the lordship of Ceasarea, became *confrere* of the Hospitallers together with her husband, Johan Aleman. They reassured the Hospital that they would defend, aid, protect, and secure brother Guillaume of Chateauneuf, "honorable master of the said house," his "religious," his successors, and their possessions against everyone except their own lords, their children, or their vassals, as they had promised when they made their oath on the Gospels. In particular, the couple pledged five knights for service to the Hospital.[28]

The promise of the Hospitaller habit to Juliana made her association as *consoror* like a donat-type association elsewhere. Here the habit of language is stronger than the type of association. In fact, only in northern Spain can one find "*donatas*" of the Hospital. All the examples of this word are indeed, as Miramon claimed, from after 1180: Maria Rosella was the first who associated herself and her son as donat in 1193. She donated her honors in the castle of Cervera and other possessions, with the permission of Alexis of Cervera and her son, William, to the brothers of the Hospital in Cervera, who received the two as "*donatos*."[29]

Similarly, Maria of Mataxolas gave herself as *donata* and her grandson Dominico Romeo as *frater* to the house of the Hospital of Saint John in Saragossa in 1196. Dominico Romeo's age is unknown, but the fact that his grandmother spoke for him indicates that he was young. [30] Maria promised all her possessions to the Hospitallers but made the following arrangement: she would continue to manage half of the estate, from which she would pay the expenses for the business as well as for her living, and she promised to give the Hospital any surplus. However, if the proceeds were not enough to cover the costs, she was guaranteed a living by the Hospital at the standard of living of a brother. After her death, the whole estate would come to the Hospital. Don Assalit of Gudal, of

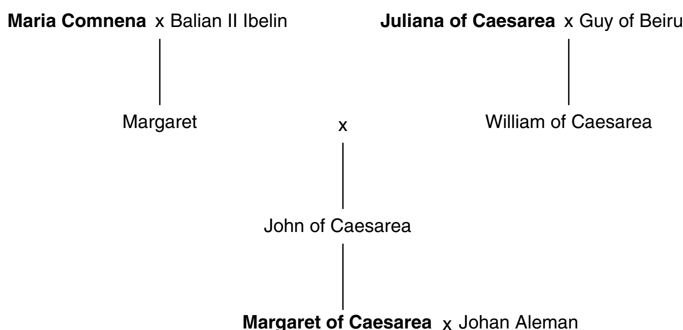


Figure 4.1 Relationship among three Hospitaller *consorores*

unknown relation, supported her arrangement by adding some of his possessions to the donation. There is, however, no promise to Maria of the Hospitaller of habit in the future, and her association seems to have been a *consoror*-type association. Again, adherence to local terminology was more important than the nature of association; Maria associated as *donata* because she lived in Spain.[31]

Donats quite often associated themselves as couples. Of course, being able to receive spiritual benefits as if one were religious was an important draw for married couples, as they could not become religious as long as they were married, and it was not uncommon to stipulate that one or the other of the spouses would join the Hospital as soon as the other died. In 1204, Domingo Lozano and his wife, España, for example, gave the Hospital at Grisén, among other things, seventy sheep, a mare and its colt, an ass with its young, and two pigs. In return, each was given the option to enter the Hospital and receive the habit as soon as the other spouse died.[32] In another association, Raymond of Benasch associated himself not only with his wife, Romana, but with his brother, Pons, as well. William of Concha Bella, commander of Siscar, received them as "*donatos*" of that house in 1213, promising they could enter that house whenever they wished.[33]

Joaquín Miret i Sans claims two other cases of female donats. First is the case of Beatrix. Beatrix was a *donata* of Santa María del Camí, "*deo data et domui sancte Marie de Camino,*" who acted on behalf of herself and the sisters, *confratres*, and *[con]sorores* of the house. According to Miret i Sans, Santa María del Camí was a Hospitaller house dependent upon the Hospital of Barcelona. However, the document that serves as his evidence does not mention a connection with the Hospital of Saint John. Furthermore, the action of a *donata* on behalf of her sisters and brothers without the consent of a Hospitaller superior seems irregular for the Hospital. Except for the fact that this charter ended up in the Hospitaller archives, there is no evidence that there was a Hospitaller house at Santa María del Camí.[34] Secondly, Miret i Sans mentions that Guerau of Montagut and his wife, Ponçeta, became donats of Sant Valentí of les Cabañes in 1197, choosing the Hospital for their burial and promising their furniture [*mobles*] and armor. However, he does not give any transcript of the original text.[35] If indeed the word "*donatos*" is used, it seems that, as in the case of Juliana's association as *consoror,* the habit of language is again stronger than the type of association, because the type of association does not seem to be more than a request for burial, or a *consoror*-type association at most.

Sometimes, as was the case with España in 1204, the habit was offered in the future without actually calling the recipient a *donata*.[36] Another

example is that of Bona. Don Chico and Doña Bona gave themselves and some belongings to the Hospital in 1183. They went beyond promising that they would associate with no other religious order than the Hospital, and like España and her husband, explicitly stated that in case one of them should die, the other had no right to remain lay and was to take on the Hospitaller habit immediately. In return, Garcia of Lisa, the castellan of Amposta, gave them the use of an estate, which was to return to the Hospital at death.[37] Chico and Bona made their promise with an oath sworn on the Gospels in presence of several Hospitaller brothers, Bona's brother, and Galindo of Deuslibol. In a second charter, with an identical date, they gave to the Hospitallers their possessions in Deuslibol (Juslibol).[38]

Most associations in southern France were of this donat type, in which a habit was promised in the future, even though the word "*donata*" was not used. The first instance dates from 1177: Raimonda, daughter of William of Mornas, was a wealthy individual who donated to the Hospital at Saint-Gilles her rights to the castles and territories of Mornas, Gigondas, Cairanne, Caderousse, and Pont-de-Sorge. She kept her control [*potestas*] over the castles of Mornas and Gigondas for the time being, as well as the usufruct of her possessions, and was promised the Hospitaller habit whenever she decided to take it. In contrast to the first Templar *donati,* Raimunda seems to have been single: the charter shows no indication of marriage, widowhood, or motherhood.[39] In 1191, Rostagnus Gregorius and his wife, Guillelma, sold the hospital some property for 3000 sol and the promise that they would be able to assume the Hospitaller habit whenever it would please them. It was apparently underpriced, as they swore with their hand on the Gospels that they were satisfied with that amount. Rostagius was allowed to eat in the refectory of the Hospital as one of the brothers for the time being, a privilege not offered to Guillelma.[40]

There were others in southern France who made a donat-type association. Not far from Saint-Gilles, at Trinquetaille, Pierre Redon and his wife, Respendina, gave themselves to the Hospitallers in 1200. Again, the provision was made that as soon as one of the two would die, the other would receive the Hospitaller habit. [41] In 1203, a different Guillelma arranged that she would live in one of the houses connected with the Hospitaller hospital in Toulouse and be cared for like one of the sisters. The prior offered her water and bread for life and the exploitation of some land for income. She could, if she so wished, become a professed sister at a later date. [42] In 1214, Bruna, widowed at the time, was given the opportunity to be received as sister and participant whenever she could commit to the "holy religion and order of the said hospital, out of free will and according to the rule and regulations of the said Hospitaller order."[43] In

1187, the prior of Toulouse promised Bernard of Saint-Rémy and his wife the Hospitaller habit and care like "the other brothers and sisters of the hospital" whenever they wanted.[44] Finally, Aldebert, his wife, Valentina, and her mother, Poncia, gave themselves and all their belongings to the Hospital in 1207. They kept the usufruct of their property as long as they lived and remained lay. However, they would receive the Hospitaller habit whenever they wished to become "brothers" at Avignon.[45]

In Italy, several different terms were used to indicate lay association. According to Tacchella's study of donats in Italy, *dedicate* was the Milanese equivalent for the Genoese *reddite* and the more universal *converse*. For example, Simona, widow of Borgognone Embracio, expressed the wish to enter the Hospital and thus donated all her belongings. She was accepted by Manfred, the commander of Genoa, as "reddita et conversa" on January 21, 1276.[46] In 1293, Giovanni Manerio decided to leave four lire annually to his daughter, Giacomina, "reddita" of the Hospital of Saint John in Genoa.[47] In Milan, sister Fomia, sister Agata, and sister Benvenuta were witness to a transaction on January 28, 1259. The document explains that they were "omnes converse, dedicate, et sorores dicti hospitalis."[48]

There are no examples of female lay associates with commanderies in England, where lay association was less common than on the continent, but Miramon was mistaken to claim that donat association was altogether absent: At Buckland, Roger and Adeliz, husband and wife, donated land to the Hospital so that if they decided to convert to religious life, they would be accepted there.[49] Buckland was a house for female Hospitallers, and accordingly, the pattern was reversed; here, a man becomes a lay associate of a house of sisters. The same happened in Sigena, a house for Hospitaller sisters in Spain, where Bernard Scolaris Sator became a brother and donat in 1235.[50]

The pattern becomes clear. Except for the occasional use of *consoror* in the West, each region is consistent in its terminology: *donata* in Catalonia, *reddita* in Genoa, *dedicata* in Milan, *consoror* in the Latin East, and no term for she-who-can-receive-the-habit-in-the-future in southern France. We should, therefore, make a distinction between the term used and the type of affiliation. Confraternity (whatever it was termed locally) was an assurance of mutual friendship between the religious institution and a lay individual. It was a type of lay association that was in essence temporal and therefore often required an annual donation to reinforce the bond (the *consoror*-type or *confrater*-type association). The Hospital would receive donations and the loyalty of these lay associates, which, depending on the riches and power of these associates, could be substantial. In return, after making a solemn vow, the *confrater*-type or *consoror*-type lay

associates could expect spiritual benefits without renouncing their marriage (if they were married). Furthermore, they had the assurance of a burial in the Hospitaller cemetery, and depending on the arrangements made, support in times of poverty or old age.

Conversely, the donat-type association was a type of lay association in which the lay individual came one step closer to becoming religious. He or she became a Hospitaller-to-be by securing for him- or herself the Hospitaller habit in the future, even if that meant only at burial, thus securing the spiritual benefits that came with being a Hospitaller. The theological and ideological complication of receiving the spiritual benefits reserved for religious while being a layperson of the *confrater*-type or *consoror*-type association were thus avoided when making a donat-type association The latter became particularly popular after 1179, when Pope Lucius III limited the spiritual benefits of confraternity within the Hospitallers or Templars.[51] For some, association as donat was the first step to becoming a fully professed Hospitaller.

CHAPTER 5

HOSPITALLER SISTERS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Hospitaller *sorores* [sisters] of the twelfth century were women associated with the Hospital of Saint John who were not explicitly lay and who were probably, but due to confusing terminology not necessarily, professed.[1] These sisters sometimes associated themselves with Hospitaller commanderies that also housed brothers; consequently, some Hospitaller commanderies had mixed-sex communities. From 1177, the Hospital started to also establish houses specifically for sisters. Their foundation charters give the impression that the initiative was the donors', but the arrangements also suited the Hospital, which received the houses willingly, may have even bargained for their foundations, and tried to retain them when they threatened to break away. The most influential of these houses was at Sigena, in Spain, where Hospitaller sisters dedicated themselves to religious contemplation.

Women in Commanderies

Women had a presence in Hospitaller commanderies and priories in Spain, Italy, France, England, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century and in particular after c. 1170, by which time their number was significant enough to draw attention of the Hospital and certain royal benefactors. Here, we consider any Hospitaller community that was headed by a commander [*commendator* or *preceptor*], male or female, to be a commandery and houses headed by priors or castellans to be priories. These houses were not established specifically for the accommodation of women, in contrast to the houses headed by prioresses, which we will consider in the second half of this chapter. Women in commanderies or priories were most often under the direct leadership of a man and were a

minority within their house. The occasional presence of women in commanderies seems odd, but records show that this is the historical reality.

It is possible that some of these women became involved with commanderies following association as a donat. A donat, as we recall, was someone who gave substantial possessions to the Hospital and in return was promised the Hospitaller habit in the future. Because the purpose of the archival records is to record the transaction of property, extant documents tend to show the moment of donat association, not the subsequent moment of entry as Hospitaller. Yet we can imagine that, for example, when Bernard of Saint-Rémy died, his wife took the Hospitallers up on the promise they made her in 1187 to give her the habit of the Hospital so that she could live like "the other brothers and sisters of the hospital."[2] The Hospitaller house in this case was a Hospitaller hospital in Toulouse (France) that had members of either sex.[3]

Raimunda of Mornas, a single woman, wealthy and with considerable power, made a similar donat-type arrangement with a Hospitaller house that had female associates, namely at Saint-Gilles (France) in 1177. When she was offered to accept the Hospitaller habit "whenever" she decided to take it, three other Hospitaller sisters witnessed: Stephania of Sancta Cecilia, Ermegard Nier, and Maria.[4] In 1186, a woman named Vierna confirmed that her daughter, Galburgis, had given her money and property as well when she had given herself as sister to "God, and the house at Saint-Gilles of the hospital of Jerusalem."[5] The priory of Saint-Gilles was the headquarters for the Hospital in the West and is otherwise considered to have been a male community. It seems, however, that the priory or commandery at Saint-Gilles, like the Hospitaller house at Toulouse, had sisters among its brothers.

"Donnya" Bona made a more binding promise to the Hospital than Raimunda. She and her husband made a donat-type association at Amposta in 1183 in which they explicitly pledged that if one of the spouses died, the other had no right to remain lay and would have to take the Hospitaller habit immediately.[6] The death of the husband before the wife would therefore have resulted in the profession of a Hospitaller sister; the Hospital did not yet have foundations for women, but this did not seem to cause any concern for the parties involved.

Cervera, in Catalonia, was another male Hospitaller house that accepted women. There is no doubt that Arsend, "woman and lady of Tous," became a sister at Cervera in 1168 when she gave herself to the Hospital in Jerusalem in order to serve God "obediently and without property" and "according to the rule of the Hospital." She made her donation (and profession?) to Godfrey of Bresil, prior of Saint-Gilles and the most important Hospitaller official in the West at that time.[7] In 1199, her eldest son, Raymond of Tous, chose to be buried with the

Hospital. In his testament, he made provisions for his daughter and his wife: namely, he planned to give the Hospital 300 morabitins so that they would be received as sisters.[8] Seven years earlier, Ermesenda of Biosca had become a sister at the same house.[9] Furthermore, Amasalt became *soror* at Cervera in 1172 while her three sons became *confratres*.[10] In fact, Cervera had a long history of female involvement since Ermesend's confraternal association in 1111, and this tradition, as we will see, continued into the thirteenth century.[11]

In Jerusalem, sisters along with brothers cared for the sick and the poor around 1180, or at least were supervising nurses and other staff.[12] There seem to have been sisters at the Jerusalem hospital before that time: We know that Adelis went to Jerusalem after she had been made sister at Trinquetaille in 1146.[13] In addition, when Gila became *consoror* at Jerusalem in 1175, she requested a funeral procession by the brothers *and sisters* of that house at her burial.[14]

Verona was a Hospitaller hospital that had at least three brothers and three sisters in 1178.[15] Although it is likely that sisters at Toulouse, Jerusalem, or Verona lived in their respective hospitals, it is not always clear from the documents whether Hospitaller sisters lived within the confines of an ordinary commandery.[16] Because the extant documents of the Hospitaller commanderies in the twelfth century were not written to record who lived in a commandery but to record property rights, the information we have about women's presence in commanderies is almost always accidental. It would be almost equally hard to find positive evidence for the presence of Hospitaller brothers in commanderies, except for the facts that there were more brothers in the Hospital than sisters and that men were featured more regularly in juridical documents than women.[17]

Proving full profession or physical location remains difficult, but the following example strongly suggests that professed sisters were indeed living in commanderies before houses were established especially for them. In 1186, Hospitaller sisters were collected from seven different English commanderies and placed in a newly established house for Hospitaller women in Buckland, Somerset, where from then on all Hospitaller sisters were supposed to reside.[18] Because at this time the total number of Hospitaller houses in England was twenty-two,[19] it seems that a surprisingly large percentage (31.8 percent) of male houses in England actually had associated women in that year.

Houses for Sisters

The Hospital of Saint John experienced something new in its development as an institution between 1177 and 1188, when the first four houses

for Hospitaller sisters were established. At first glance, the initiators were the founders: King Alfonso II of Aragon, who founded Grisén, Queen Sancha of Aragon, who founded Sigena, King Henry II of England, who founded Buckland, and the significantly less glamorous knight, P. (Petrus?), who founded a house near Prague. However, after careful investigation, it seems that the Hospital had more influence on this development and more enthusiasm for the foundations than is immediately apparent from the foundation charters, which tend to give credit to the person who brings in the property or money that makes the foundation possible.

Buckland

Buckland, in Somerset, was one of the first foundations for Hospitaller sisters. It was officially founded by King Henry II of England (1154–1187) who in 1185 donated a house that had belonged to canons to the Hospitallers for the purpose of bringing all the sisters of the order in England together under one roof.[20] The king specifically mentioned that the prior of England had personally agreed with him to not retain sisters in any other Hospitaller house in England except in the above-mentioned house at Buckland. The following year, the prior of the Hospital in England indeed collected sisters from seven different commanderies and housed them at Buckland: Melisend from Standon (Hertfordshire), Johanna from Hampton (Middlesex), Basilia from Carbrooke (Norfolk), Amabila and Amicia of Malketon from Shingay (Cambridgeshire), Christina of Hogshaw from Hogshaw (Buckinghamshire), Petronella from Gosford (Oxfordshire), and Agnes from Clanfield (Oxfordshire). A sister named Fina became their first prioress.[21] Furthermore, a second community was established at Buckland, namely a commandery of brothers whose task it was to take care of the sisters.[22]

Henry II's wish to end a situation in which a minority of religious women lived in communities with men corresponded with the Church's growing unease about religious women among men in religious orders. Historians Hallam, Elkins, and Venarde view his decision as part of his penance for his part in the murder of Thomas Becket. As part of that penance, Henry had promised to support papal reform policies, and they understood his decision to create a separate house for female Hospitallers as a way to honor his promises while asserting his royal power.[23] At the same time, his changed attitude can be understood in the light of his attempt to regain the Church's favor. Although not necessarily without spiritual concern, Henry's action may have been practical and opportunistic rather than born out of personal opinion on mixed-sex religious

houses as his political attitude (as evidenced by his attitude toward mixed-sex communities) changed from rebellious to appeasing. In 1166, Henry opposed Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) and supported the Gilbertine order against the accusations of the exiled lay brothers; in 1180, Henry lost his strong opposition to the pope and wanted to regain papal collaboration. The donation of a house for women that would limit cohabitation of male and female Hospitallers was in line with papal policy.

King Henry may have become known as the founder of "Mynchin" Buckland, but the property had belonged to William of Erlegh, lord of the manor of Durston, who had used it to found a house for Augustinian canons sometime between 1170 and 1183.[24] Besides his lands and rights to Buckland (adjacent to his manor), William gave the canons the churches of Petherton, Bekynton, and Kilmersdon with all their privileges and lands, the chapel of Durston, a fishery, some meadows, and some other lands for their own use without secular intervention. In return, the canons promised to give themselves to God, to Mary, and to Saint Nicholas. William's uncle, Thomas, Archdeacon of Taunton, was to organize the canons. He witnessed the transaction together with Stephen, prior of Taunton, and many others. The donation was a pious act for the spiritual benefit of William and his family and for the benefit of the souls of King Henry, Queen Eleanor, their son King Henry, and their other children.[25] William was not from a great noble family, but his service to the crown had brought him closer to the king.[26]

A house of canons was in fact set up, but its history was short. John Stillingflete, a fifteenth-century chronicler, explained that the canons had been found guilty of killing the king's seneschal, who also happened to be a relative of William of Erlegh. The king subsequently had the canons removed and gave the property in c. 1180 to the Hospital of Saint John in order to establish Hospitaller sisters.[27] But the case of Buckland was surrounded in ambiguity and cover-up. Reginald, bishop of Bath, eventually endorsed the transfer of the canons' property to the Hospitallers ("the truth now revealed"), which he believed that William had agreed to be given to the Hospitallers for the maintenance of their sisters.[28] Reginald wrote a letter stating that William wanted to grant Buckland to the brothers of the Hospital (conditional on the king's approval), but in a second letter, Reginald only mentions King Henry II as the one who allowed the canons to be removed from Buckland in order to establish sisters there.[29] Furthermore, Henry II's charter is, in style and content, that of a donor, and Reginald confirmed it as such in 1186.[30] The king's royal presence therefore overshadowed William, especially after the latter's death, but it is possible that Henry was involved from the beginning. After all, we can hardly expect William to have had insight into the needs of a house

for female Hospitallers, while Henry, who had taken control of William's foundation after the canons' crimes, could have been informed because he had met with the master of the Hospitallers in 1185, shortly before the decision of turning Buckland into a house of sisters.

Roger de Moulins, the master of the Hospital, had come to England together with Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and others as a delegation from the Latin East, which had come to Henry II in an attempt to gain his support for the defense of the Latin Kingdom against an increasing Muslim threat in 1185.[31] Heraclius had started the visit with a sermon in Canterbury in which he praised Becket's miracle in the Holy Land, allegedly meant to raise Henry's feelings of guilt over Becket's murder.[32] The visit was only partly a success: Henry pledged support, but he did not commit to a crusade.[33]

When the delegation departed, it left behind Garnier of Nablus, the new prior of the Hospitallers in England. His new position resulted from a reorganization of the Hospital in England, which beforehand had been part of the priory of Saint-Gilles but had now become independent.[34] It is at exactly this time that a priory for women was established where all Hospitaller sisters were meant to congregate, which again entailed some reorganization of the Hospital in England, and it was Garnier of Nablus who finally established the sisters at Buckland.

Sigena

At roughly the same time of Buckland's foundation, a house for Hospitaller sisters was founded in Spain. Sancha, Queen of Aragon and Countess of Barcelona, began her negotiation with the Templars on behalf of Armengaud and his Hospitallers for the acquisition of property that became a foundation for Hospitaller sisters in Sigena, Aragon, in 1184. The purpose of the foundation of Sigena, expressed at its foundation in 1187, was like that of Buckland: it was meant to set up a house in which all the Hospitaller sisters in the Castellany of Amposta would come together.[35]

Contrary to traditional beliefs, there is no evidence that Sigena was established in order to house women who fled from the Latin East after the battle of Hattin on July 4, 1187, and the subsequent loss of Jerusalem.[36] It is plausible, however, that the master and treasurer of the Hospital responded favorably to Sancha's desire to found a house for Hospitaller sisters because they were eager to receive a large donation and royal support in this time of crisis. The convent had been planned before Hattin, but now the Hospital felt a new urgency for its implementation and authorized its foundation in October 1187, just months after the great

losses of the Holy Land to the Muslims, which had come at a high cost for the order.

Sancha had her personal reasons for setting up a female Hospitaller convent. It might have been expected that a woman of her station in the second half of the twelfth century would found a house for Cistercian women, just as the queen of Castile had done, or the well-regarded

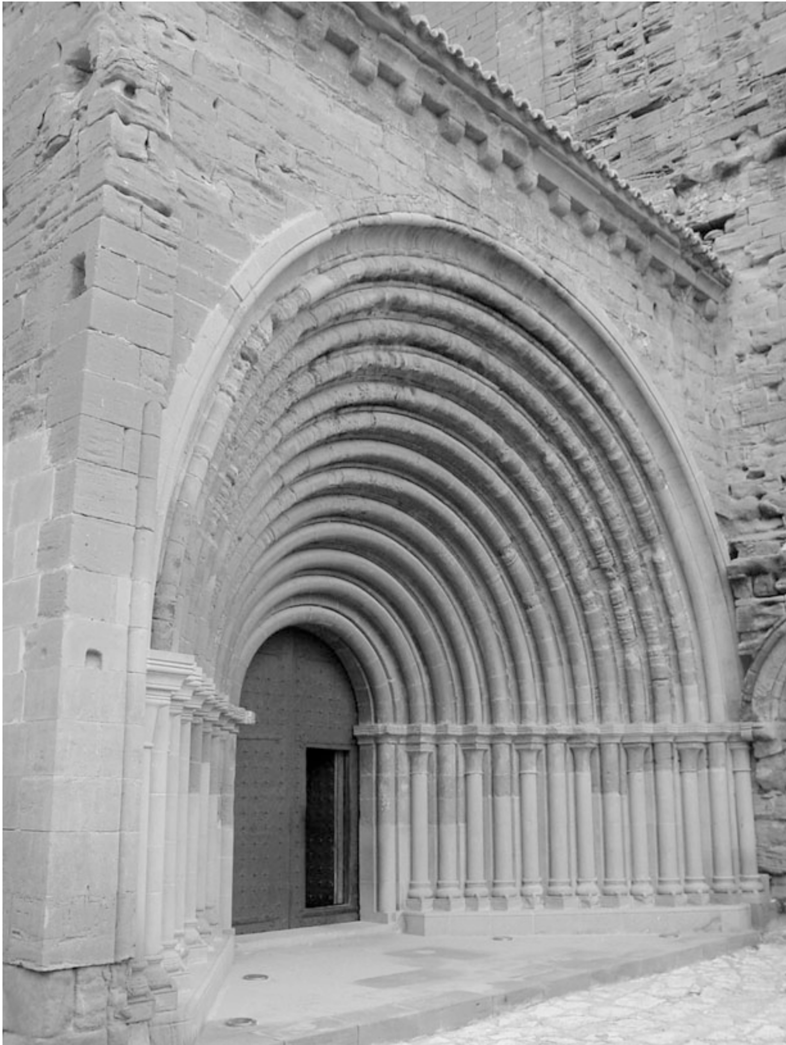


Figure 5.1 Portal of the Hospitaller monastery at Sigena, Spain (restored)

countess of Urgel.[37] Or she could have become involved with Vallbona, a Cistercian foundation made possible by her husband, with her approval, in 1178.[38] However, if she became a Hospitaller sister (in contrast to a Cistercian nun), she could still travel and be present at court, because the Hospital offered her an opportunity to become a regular religious without taking the vow of stability and without being enclosed and therefore without being confined to a cloister.[39] In one of her directive letters to the official prioress, she was almost apologetic about the absence of enclosure when she explained that she wanted the monastery to have towers and a wall, not for the "*custodia*" or "*clausura*" of the sisters, who were "walls of virtue" in themselves, but for their visual impact.[40] The rule of Sigena even made provisions for leaving the cloister.[41] This absence of strict enclosure was in stark contrast to the ideology of female Cistercian monasteries at this time.

The surviving medieval documents display Sancha's careful planning of a religious community. In October 1187, a representative of Armengaud of Asp (prior of Saint-Gilles and castellan of Amposta), gave Sancha the towns of Sigena, Sena, and Urgelleto.[42] He also promised her the castle of Lecina with a charter that included a provision that Sancha could exchange this castle with the Templars for the churches of Sena and Sigena if she could not obtain the churches in any other way.[43]

Sancha had been involved in the negotiations with the Templars to exchange the Hospitaller castle and town of Santa Lecina for the churches of Sena and Sigena since at least 1184, but the exchange had apparently not taken place yet. At the time, she promised the castle and town of Santa Lecina in exchange for the churches of Sena and Sigena to Raymond of Caneto, master of the Templars, and to other Templars, with the permission of Armengaud of Asp and other Hospitallers. Furthermore, she gave the Templars the Hospitaller possessions in Puy de Monzón. Sancha acted in this agreement as queen in cooperation with the Hospitallers, not as a Hospitaller sister, and her husband signed as one of the witnesses.[44]

In March 1188, Sancha gave the manor of Codong to the castellan of Amposta and received the town of Sigena with all rights and income that belonged to them, as well as the towns of Sena, Urgelleto, and Santa Lecina.[45] In the same document, Sancha accepted the "monasterium" of Sigena to set up and build a house where ladies [*domine*] lived and prayed, so that they could "always live there in honor of God and Saint John the Baptist."[46] These ladies, as the sisters at Sigena were called, were to live under the rule of the Hospital and a supplementary rule that she, Sancha, had drawn up by Ricardo, bishop of Huesca, with some Benedictine influences but mostly according to the principles of Saint Augustine.[47] It was made with the advice and approval of Garcia of Lisa, now "master of the Hospitallers of Amposta," and the other brothers.[48] Garcia in turn

confirmed Sancha's contributions with gratitude and promised her a chapel anywhere in the kingdom where masses would be celebrated for the soul of her husband, herself, and all her ancestors.[49]

Tradition holds that the date of Sigena's foundation was April 23, 1188.[50] No contemporary records survive from the foundation ceremony, but Francisco Moreno described it in detail in his *Hierusalem Religiosa*, an eighteenth-century manuscript that more or less faithfully uses documents that have since been lost.[51] According to Moreno, the festivities began on April 21 when the bishop of Huesca consecrated the church of Sigena in the presence of the royal family and its entourage. Two days later, on the feast day of Saint George, Garcia of Lisa, castellan of Amposta, administered the conventual vows to the sisters, and the community was officially established.[52]

Sigena had certainly been founded when, in April 1188, King Alfonso endowed it with a large tract of land in Los Monegros that was called Candasnos. Although the grant was made "to God, the holy Hospital of Jerusalem, and its house of Sigena," the king gave it directly to Sancha, who was his wife and who he considered the "*dominatrix*" of the house of Sigena, not to the castellan of Amposta as one might expect. In fact, no Hospitallers witnessed the act.[53] The term *dominatrix* was apt for the queen, as she completely dominated the house without being the prioress. It was really her foundation. The lands came from her dowry, the building was under her oversight, and after its establishment, she ruled the house from a distance until she could retire from her royal duties.

Sancha created a foundation that suited her needs in one other very important way: she gave Sigena a rule that created a liturgical role for its sisters. It was a life of contemplation less onerous than that of Cistercian nuns, but nonetheless religious and centered around the celebration of the Divine Office. In it she found approval and appreciation of the Hospital. Armengaud of Asp, now master of the Hospital, wrote to Sancha on October 6, 1188, that he and all the brothers approved of the new way of life that she had proposed for the female Hospitallers at Sigena since they believed that the new rule would increase its honor as it came forth "from a fountain overflowing with religious fervor."[54] This rule was important for the history of the female Hospitallers because it introduced a new way of life, a life of contemplation rather than action in the world, which, as we will see, would become the norm for Hospitaller sisters in female houses.

Grisén

Was it coincidence that Queen Sancha began her negotiation with the Templars on behalf of Armengaud and his Hospitallers for the acquisition

of property, property that became a foundation for Hospitaller sisters, in the same year that the reorganization of the Hospital in England was conceived? Or was the establishment of priories for women in England and Aragon part of the same reorganization? Circumstantial evidence suggests the latter. The establishment of an independent priory of England must have been conceived in the Latin East in 1184, before the delegation (including the new prior) went westward, and the prior of Saint-Gilles must have been aware of the reorganization plans, as they directly affected his priory. The prior of Saint-Gilles in 1184 was Armengaud of Asp, former "master" of Amposta and well-known to King Alfonso II of Aragon and his Queen Sancha. If anyone, it is he who could have been aware and involved in the reorganization of territories—he was certainly well aware of the desire for the foundation of houses for female Hospitallers.

A few years earlier, between 1177 and 1184, Armengaud had made an agreement with Alfonso II in which he returned the king's previous donation of Grisén in exchange for other property. The king had given possessions in Grisén to the Hospital for the foundation of a house for female Hospitallers in 1177. This happened during a meeting at Catalayud where Alfonso made a donation to God, the Hospital of Jerusalem, Pedro Lopez de Luna (who was castellan of Amposta at that time), *domina* Major of Aix (Pedro's sister),[55] and the brothers of the Hospital, when he gave them, and in particular Major, the castle of Grisén—including a manor, lands, and all pertaining rights—in order to set up a "dwelling for ladies."[56] Queen Sancha was present, endorsed the concession wholeheartedly, and personally signed the charter.[57] The king explicitly protected the sisters from being moved by the master or brothers of the order,[58] and the foundation of Grisén seems to have been a royal initiative benefiting Major and her associates rather than an initiative from the Hospitallers themselves.

Only two months later, the Christians in and around Grisén sought protection from the Hospitallers from the wars "of kings and princes," and for that purpose gave up their rights in the castle of Grisén. Perhaps this unstable political situation prevented Grisén from becoming a house for female Hospitallers, as Alfonso had intended. For whatever reason, it seems that no house for Hospitaller sisters at Grisén was indeed created in 1177, at least not in the sense of a religious house for women like Buckland or Sigena a few years later. Instead, it seems that Grisén became a mixed-sex community under the leadership of Major of Aix.[59]

Major of Aix had and would have several leadership positions, and at the time of Alfonso's donation, she was a prioress in Río de Jalón.

Her position as prioress could mean one of two things: either Río de Jalón was a female priory (like Buckland or Sigena) where Major and her associate sisters lived before wanting to move to Grisén, or Major was a female prior in a leadership position commanding commanders (like a male prior). Later evidence suggests that she acted as a female prior, because at the time when the Christians of Alpartir sought protection (February 1178), Major was "prioress of Ricla to the river Iber" and was mentioned after Peter Lopez de Luna, "master of Amposta and prior of Aragon," but before the commanders in the witness list.[60] In March of the same year, she was in control over Grisén, Ricla, and the area below the river Jalón, while Dominicus acted as commander of Ricla under her command.[61] Rather than a prioress over a female house of sisters, Major was a female prior in a leadership position over several commanders within a region.

The plan for a house of Hospitaller women at Grisén was clearly abandoned by 1181 or 1182, when Armengaud of Asp returned the king's gift in exchange for another donation.[62] But although Grisén did not evolve into a blossoming religious community of women, it was important because its foundation charter gave birth to the idea of a community of religious women. Armengaud of Asp and Queen Sancha then took the idea and cooperate in the foundation of a house for Hospitaller sisters at Sigena. Sancha, however, took this foundation of a house for Hospitaller sisters into a direction that suited her personal needs. She turned the idea of the Hospitaller commandery of women, as had been conceived at Grisén in 1177, into a religious house for Augustinian canonesses, a house that suited her spiritual aspirations but at the same time allowed her to leave its enclosure while she was queen. In doing so, she did not just create female Hospitallers. Instead, she also harked back to an ancient tradition of houses of canonesses: communities of devoted aristocratic women who were religious but did not turn their backs on the world; women who were independent and intellectually active and who often called themselves *dominae*.[63] The house for Hospitaller sisters at Grisén might have inspired her, but Sancha had a different vision for Sigena, which she expressed in its new religious rule.

In short, it seems that the idea for the foundations of Buckland and Sigena each arose in 1184 at a time when the Hospital was seriously contemplating its organization and when the general opinion toward female religious favored their segregation from men. The original idea for a house of female Hospitallers, however, had already been conceived in 1177 with the foundation of Grisén, and possibly, but less likely, with the existing foundation for sisters at Manetin, located in the current Czech Republic.

Manetin

Very little is known about the circumstance of the foundation of a house of Hospitaller sisters at Manetin, located approximately sixty miles west of Prague. Pope Lucius III confirmed in 1182 to Bernard, "preceptor in Bohemia," the possession of the church of Manetin, "in which sisters remain, who have been brought together there by you and the Hospital with the permission of the bishop."[64] It may very well have been the same house, which a certain knight P. had tried to establish for his female relatives in cooperation with the same Bernard, and at around the same time.[65] Unfortunately, the exact date of this foundation is not known nor is its location. It is, however, of interest because a subsequent recorded dispute shows the Hospitallers' attitude toward female membership. Once a Hospitaller house for women was established, the Hospital fought to keep it, and once a woman accepted the Hospitaller garb, she was to be a Hospitaller sister for life.[66]

Pope Clement III (1188–1191) related the problems that followed the foundation in a letter to the abbots of Plas and Stragovia dated October 12, 1188. According to the pope, who had received a letter with complaints from the Hospitallers, P. had accepted the Hospitaller habit together with his mother, his wife, his maternal aunt, and a niece when he made his profession in a church in Prague to Bernard, a prior of the Hospital. At this occasion, he conceded to the order all his belongings, and at his request, the local prior set up a monastery for women.[67]

Afterwards, the letter explains, P. was sent to Jerusalem where he, "like so many others," was "overcome by the enemies of the Christian faith" and died.[68] In the meantime, his mother took charge of the house. Without any counsel or permission, she accepted about ten additional sisters and took command over the laypeople serving the monastery and its villages. The wife, a professed sister, was taken away by her father and remarried against all regulations. Having seen "*tanta mala*" [so many bad things], the Hospitaller brothers set up a cloister in the priory's church in Prague and sent the sisters there to lead a communal life.[69] The mother, however, said that she wanted to go to Jerusalem where she could serve God in closer proximity and took thirty silver marks from the brothers, but once she reached Hungary, she changed her mind and returned. With the aid of another son, she took back the donated possessions by violence, which, according to the Hospitallers, cost them 250 marks.[70]

To complicate the matter, the mother decided to change the allegiances of the house and transfer to the observances of the brothers of the Holy Sepulcher, for which she asked for license from their monastery at Doxa. Upon swearing that she had never done harm to the possessions

of the Hospital, she was absolved from the cross and she conferred upon the brothers of the Sepulcher the fifteen villages, which according to the Hospitallers, she had retaken from the Hopitallers with violence. However, at the same time that Henry, the bishop of Prague, was overseeing the transactions, the Hospitallers appealed to the Holy See.

In his response, Pope Clement asked the abbots of Stragova and Platz to sort out the confusion and recommended that if they found what the Hospitallers claimed to be true, they should restore the possessions to the Hospitallers and send "the woman" back to her monastery if the brothers at Doxa had received a license, or force her to return to her first profession. Moreover, the pope ordered the abbots "to tie her down with the chain of excommunication" until full satisfaction had been made to the Hospitallers in case she continued her disturbances.[71] Clearly, the Hospitallers were concerned by any material losses that resulted from the mother's action. But there was more at stake: profession, male or female, was taken seriously.

A New Way of Life

The new foundations for women were quite different from commanderies such as Cervera or Grisén. Before, Hospitaller houses had one or more of the following functions: managing estates, protecting a castle and its surroundings, running a hospital, or governing other commanderies. But when Sancha created Sigena, she created a monastery in which the sisters were to devote themselves to contemplation by giving it a special rule that regulated its liturgical practices at its foundation.[72] Sigena's rule is the first evidence for a new life of contemplation for Hospitaller sisters. Henceforth, Hospitaller houses for sisters like Sigena or Buckland seem to have been dedicated to the celebration of the liturgy (although there is no evidence that they directly adopted Sigena's rule in the twelfth or thirteenth century).

Like the rule of the Hospitallers, the rule of Sigena was Augustinian in inspiration. It was meant as an addition to the Hospitaller rule, not a replacement, as the sisters were bound to obey both. Both regulated life, but they were very different in subject matter. While the Hospitaller rule, as we have seen, regulated matters of the Hospital and the functioning of the hospital in Jerusalem, the rule of Sigena focused solely on the hierarchical organization and daily life of the convent, which was much more focused on monastic discipline than the life of the brothers. While both sets of regulations were Augustinian, they were from different traditions. The Hospitaller rule stems from the canonical tradition, which was adapted to hospitaller care, while Sancha seems to have been inspired

by the ancient tradition of Augustinian canonesses, who were aristocratic and influential women who were not bound to their cloister and who were involved with liturgy, books, and education.

Sigena's rule organized the life of the sisters in the rhythm of the liturgical year. It intertwined both spiritual and practical, liturgical and secular, aspects of life, as it directed the sisters on matters as detailed as when to go the latrines, namely before entering the choir for a service. The rule also tried to avoid possible problems created by discontent within the house and to take into account disruptions of the daily routine such as a nosebleed during dinner. Although not all problems were anticipated (Sancha herself would make amendments to the rule afterwards), the rule was well thought out.

The rule begins with the description of the (ideal) day on the first Sunday of Advent, at the time of rising before matins, right after the sacristan had prepared the lighting in the church: a torch, two wax candles before the altar, and a candle next to the book on the table from which the reading was to be read. When ready, the sacristan rang a bell and continued to do so until everyone had entered the church. As soon as the sisters [*domine*] and the girls [*puelle*] heard the bell, they got up and went to the latrines if they had the need. The girls, the rule implicitly shows, were young females who had not professed and who were under the tutelage of the sisters. The first sister awake carried a candle into the latrines and put it in a specific place, because no one was ever to go into the latrines without light, and the sister with the lowest seniority, that is the woman who had made the most recent profession, removed the candle after everyone had finished and put it back in its place in the church. Furthermore, the sisters and the girls (chaperoned by their "mistresses," sisters who were in charge of educating and caring for them) carried lanterns every time they were going to the lavatory. If a sister noticed that the sister next to her was still sleeping, she was to wake her up—or she would receive the same whipping in chapter as the sister who overslept! Everyone had to get up, and no one was supposed to remain in the dormitory, even in case of illness (as long as the illness was not too severe, adds the rule).[73]

Everyone went to the church for matins and entered the choir in proper order, that is, first the sisters [*domine*] and then the girls [*puelle*] with their mistresses. The service of matins was preceded by prayers known as the *Trinia Oratio,* which were recited by the sisters until the girls had entered and had taken their places between two mistresses each and the sacristan had rung a very small bell.[74] Then everyone sat down, and the recitation of the Gradual psalms began, which consisted of three sets of five psalms. The first set of psalms was followed by the *Requiem eternam.* Then the sacristan rang a bell again, and the sisters said the *Pater noster* and prayed for the deceased. Five psalms and the *Gloria* followed. At the end, the

sacristan, together with some lay sisters, rang all the bells while the sisters prayed for themselves. Then a second set of five psalms and the *Gloria* followed, after which the sacristan and some lay sisters sounded the bells and the sisters prayed, this time for the *familia,* the monastery's extended spiritual family.

The recitation of the Gradual psalms was immediately followed by matins, which began with *Domine, labia mea,* sung while the sisters faced eastward. Afterwards, two persons sang the Invitatory. Once they had finished this, they were to supplicate before the altar and return to their places. Then the precentrix started a hymn, followed by the singing of psalms with a singing of anthems by the girls. At the end of the last psalm, the precentrix was to sing the anthem. Next, there were readings, responses, and (except for the Sundays of Advent or the Sundays from Septuagesima to Easter) the singing of the *Te Deum laudamus.* A ringing of bells concluded the hour, and the sisters and girls were allowed to go back to bed.[75] The rule continues to describe the days in minute detail according to the liturgical hours, interrupting the liturgical order with comments on practical problems—such as tardy sisters at office—as it saw fit. It concludes with several unrelated issues such as the election of the prioress, tonsure, and dress code.[76]

The rule gives particular attention to gentle care for the girls. They were, for example, to carry the books for the readings, except when the books were too big or too heavy for them to carry. A girl too delicate to stand during dinner was allowed to sit on a stool. The girls were protected from cruel punishment or abuse such as the pulling of hair, beating with fists, kicking, or flogging above shoulder height. They were to be flogged in the chapter or the choir and were not to be flogged in the time between supper and matins. It is not unlikely that this caring attitude toward the youngest members of the community reflected the attitude of Queen Sancha, who placed her own daughters in the convent.

A striking element of the rule is the emphasis given to reading and literacy. During chapter, the prioress, if she was literate, gave a sermon or had someone else do it for her. The girls normally read the readings for matins except when the reading was from the Gospels. They or one of the sisters would also read aloud during the meals. The sisters were expected to spend their time after rising reading quietly in the cloister, each having received a book, which implied that Sigena had a library of some sorts. Books and reading were an integral part of the community's life.[77]

At Sigena, Hospitaller sisters explicitly led for the first time a religious life devoted to the celebration of the Divine Office, a life that

the Hospital believed would increase its honor. Other houses for female Hospitallers followed in which sisters devoted themselves to the liturgy and lead a more contemplative life than their brethren. In this respect, the Hospitallers had evolved very much, as other religious orders had, in the twelfth century and seem to foreshadow the happenings of the thirteenth century, when the female associates of the mendicants became cloistered and withdrawn from this world. However, the opportunity for individual women to associate themselves with Hospitaller commanderies remained: The Hospital of Saint John still accepted women in their commanderies on occasion, women who led an active religious life in a charitable religious order. Complete segregation, as suggested at the foundation of Buckland, did not occur, nor did the Hospitallers show misogynism or a desire to marginalize women. Instead, they appreciated the sisters' life at Sigena and fought to keep their sisters in Prague. The foundation of Hospitaller houses for women expanded rather than limited the opportunities of female religious as a result.

CHAPTER 6

HOSPITALLER SISTERS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The founding of Hospitaller houses for women from the 1170s onwards did not lead to a decline in the number or status of female Hospitallers. Quite the contrary: After early attempts to congregate Hospitaller sisters in female-only houses, as happened in Aragon and England, attitudes toward having women within male houses seem to have relaxed, and judging by the surviving records, more women were admitted to the Hospital during the thirteenth century than before. These female Hospitallers could be not only *consorores* or *donate,* as we have seen, but also fully professed sisters who joined the Hospital in existing or newly founded houses specifically for sisters or in commanderies—sometimes even as commanders. Based cautiously on the approximate size of female houses and on the number of known individuals, there were roughly 150 to 175 Hospitaller sisters by the end of the thirteenth century.

Women in Commanderies

Notwithstanding the specific foundations for women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, women continued to be present in Hospitaller commanderies, which were mixed-sex or predominantly male. Sometimes their presence was the consequence of the donation of a preexisting mixed-sex community. This happened in Spain when in 1227 King James I of Aragon ordered the house and hospital of Boxerols with its brothers, *converse*, *conversi*, *donate*, and *donati* to be subjected to the house of Hospitaller sisters at Sigena. The members of Boxerols would from then on don Hospitaller garb, obey Sigena's prioress, and live like brothers and sisters according to the rule of the Hospital.[1] Beaulieu in Quercy, France, was given to the Hospitallers in 1259 as a hospital with a mixed-sex

community.[2] Santa Maria di Sovereto in Terlizzi, Italy, seems to have been an existing mixed-sex religious community when it was given to the Hospital in 1203.[3]

The Hospitaller hospital in Toulouse exemplifies a house that continued to accept sisters among its brothers during the thirteenth century. Prima was a sister here in 1202, and Rixenda and Remengarda were "sorores hospitalis" here in 1234.[4] That sisters were actually living at the Hospitaller hospital becomes clear from an arrangement in 1204 in which the prior of Toulouse offered Guillelma water and bread for life, "just like one of the sisters." He promised that Guillelma would remain with the sisters, "or with other women she must have here" (servants?). The charter added that when Guillelma wanted to accept the habit of a religious (make a profession), the prior and the brothers of Toulouse were to receive her in good faith and to maintain her as one of the sisters of that house.[5] The fact that the prior only refers to sisters in this context suggests, however, that there may have been some kind of internal segregation of the sexes within the Hospitaller house at Toulouse.

The Hospitallers maintained a large hospital, San Giovanni di Prè, in Genoa, to care for the pilgrims embarking at the nearby harbor from c. 1180. Johanna Pevere had become a sister here sometime before 1226,[6] and Alassina decided to join the Hospitallers at Genoa at seventeen years of age and donated her inheritance as her entry gift in 1251.[7] It seems that by this time the sisters of the commandery had their own accommodation and chapel set about twenty-five meters from the brothers' building.[8] The commandery counted nine sisters and seven or eight brothers in 1373 and maintained a hospital for women with thirty-two beds and a hospital for men with forty beds. A male commander provided for the sisters in 1374.

Many of the thirteenth-century references to sisters in commanderies are no more than an occasional mention. Besides at Toulouse and Genoa, the Hospital had sisters at Trinquetaille, France, where Rixenda Autard became "nun and sister" in the presence of brothers and sisters in 1198.[9] In 1210, Agnes, widow of Hugh Pellisier, also gave them everything she owned, including herself.[10] The commander of Trinquetaille later confirmed that she was a sister of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and specifically of the Hospital of Saint Thomas [of Trinquetaille]."[11] The Hospitallers in England asked for permission to keep dogs at their commandery in Hampton in 1227 in order to protect sisters there.[12] The Hospitaller community at Siscar, Spain, consisted in 1213 of a commander, three sisters, and three brothers.[13] Nina Paleresa was a sister there in 1213 and Bonasias in around 1250.[14] There were sisters at the Hospitaller commandery at Cervera: Sibilia identified herself as "domna Sibilia de Lorag soror

hospitalis Iherosolimitani Cervarie" in a 1248 charter, and Elisenda signed a charter in 1252 as "domna Eliscenda de Jorba," among other brothers and sisters at the Hospital at Cervera. From a 1272 document, it becomes clear that she was a sister of the Hospital of Jerusalem at Cervera and the mother of Guillem of Jorba, its commander.[15] Furthermore, Oria Guerra and Maria of Taissonas were sisters at Bargota (Navarre) in 1202.[16]

We know more about the sisters at San Salvador de Isot, which was a commandery for brothers and sisters in Catalonia shortly after 1200.[17] It seems that in the beginning of the thirteenth century a sister named Agnes was acting as its commander, as she received some holdings in a castle for the house at Isot in 1202 from a certain Ermesenda. At the same time, Ermesenda also gave herself and was received by "priest Johannes and sister Agnes" in the presence of two brothers and other witnesses. [18] In 1208, Agnes accepted the church of Santa Maria of Tolust and a sum of 100 sol.[19] However, Agnes was never called anything but "sister," and Isot had a commander in 1200 and again in 1236. The acting commander in 1236 was Ramon of Liri, who acted at least twice in that year with the approval of the brothers and sisters of the house, among them Agnes and Brunisenda.[20] This Agnes may have been the same sister, but not necessarily so. In any case, the Hospitaller house at San Salvador de Isot was explicitly a mixed-sex community in 1236.

Moreover, in 1259, San Salvador de Isot was under the leadership of a female commander when Geralda of Paracolls, "commendatrix," received the property that R. of Castalione sold and donated to the house of the Hospital of San Salvador de Isot "and the brothers and sisters who live there."[21] In 1261, she was also commendatrix of Graillo, but her main function was commendatrix of Isot. In 1263, the commander of Isot operated with her "consilio et voluntate" as sister (commendatrix is not mentioned) and the approval of sister Brunisenda and of Berenguera of Calders.[22]

When Agnes accepted the church of Santa Maria of Tolust in 1208, Marquesa of Cervera was one of the witnesses. She may have been the future Marquesa of Guardia, who would later become a sister of the Hospital herself at Cervera and was the founder of Alguaire. Marquesa of Guardia entered the Hospital at Cervera in 1245 and was given the house of Cervera and all that pertained to it by its commander, Guillem of Jorba, in order to turn it into a mixed-sex community with brothers, donats, and six sisters.[23] In 1250, Marquesa was commendatrix of Cervera herself and Raimund Romsta was her *locum tenens* preceptor.[24] In 1251, she was also commendatrix of Alguaire.[25]

Several other women acted as commanders in the north of Spain during the thirteenth century, and, in one instance, in the south of

France. Guillelma of Faro was the "preceptrix" of Orgeuil near Toulouse in 1248,[26] and a certain Constance the commendatrix of Añon near Saragossa in 1253.[27] In 1240, Eximén of Urrea and his wife, Maria Rodríguez, gave land to brother Riambaldo, the commander of Spain; Hugh Forcalquier, the castellan of Amposta; Godo of Foces, sister of the Hospital of Jerusalem and commendatrix of the town of Grisén; and Pere of Alcalá, commander of Catalayud. It is noteworthy that the charter mentions Godo before Pere because it seems to indicate that she was of higher social standing.[28] In 1242, Godo, as commendatrix of "Grissenech," exchanged some property with the consent of the castellan of Amposta and the commander of Saragossa.[29] In 1251, she was commendatrix of Grisén, Almunia, Cabañes, and Apertir when she received Oria of Cabañes, apparently having taken over the position from Urraca Jordán, who was mentioned as commendatrix of Almunia, Cabañes, and Alpartir in 1246 and 1251.[30] In 1260, Godo was mentioned for the last time as commendatrix of Grisén, Almunia, and Cabañes. By that time, she had served the Hospital as commendatrix for at least twenty years.[31]

In short, between 1177 and 1189, and again between 1240 and 1261, seven women were in a commander position over eleven houses or cells in a relatively limited area in northern Spain. Except for Constance, these women commanded more than one commandery—some small, others, like Cervera, quite substantial. The reason for having several commanderies under one commander was probably the same as the reason why women commanded them; the Hospital had trouble with recruitment in Spain in the thirteenth century, as is evidenced by the 1292 regulation that no one was to receive a brother knight or a noble donat without a special license of the master anywhere *except* for Spain or the Levant, namely where conflict with the Saracens was ongoing—and there they could have as many brothers as are deemed necessary.[32] Decisions for recruitment were made locally in Spain, and with a lack of manpower, women, especially noble women with money and power, filled the void.

Houses of Sisters

Besides associating themselves with Hospitaller commanderies, women in the thirteenth century had increasing opportunities to associate themselves with female houses of the order. The new foundations for Hospitaller sisters in the thirteenth century came about in a variety of ways: A new female house was founded in Aconbury, England, and an existing female house was donated to the Hospitallers in Penne, Italy. But the two most successful houses for female Hospitallers from the thirteenth century found their origin in mixed-sex communities. These

were Alguaire, just north of Lérida in Catalonia (not too far from Sigena) and Beaulieu, roughly east of Rocamadour in Quercy, France. Alguaire established its character when a female Hospitaller commander turned it into a house for women; Beaulieu was a mixed-sex hospital that became a house for female religious.

Alguaire

Unlike Sigena or Buckland, Alguaire was not a royal foundation. Instead, the house was established by the Hospital itself, showing the interest of the Hospital in accommodating women. The basis of its foundations were the town and castle of Alguaire, which had been in the possession of the Hospital since 1186, when King Alfonso II of Aragon exchanged them for other possessions.[33] The castle was strategically placed on the isolated top of a small plateau and protected by steep slopes on three sides, with wide views over its surroundings. The site was isolated and remote [Fig. 6.1].

The foundation of the community, however, began in Cervera at the initiative of Marquesa of Guardia. Marquesa was the daughter of Ramon of Cervera[34] and Miracle of Urgel and was married to Guillem

Figure 6.1 Remains of the Hospitaller monastery at Alguaire, Spain

of Guardia, son of Pere of Alenton and Estefania in 1223.[35] They had two daughters, Mateva and Gueralda, for whom Guillem made arrangements in his testament in 1234. Because there was no male heir, Mateva would be her father's legal heir unless a son was born, but Marquesa would keep her dowry, which consisted of the towns and castles of Guardialata and Pasenant.[36]

Guillem died sometime before August 17, 1245, the day on which Marquesa associated herself with the Hospitallers. Although her husband and her brother chose to be buried with the Cistercian monks at Poblet,[37] the Cervera and Guardia families both had a history of supporting the Hospitallers in Cervera.[38] Marquesa received the commandery of Cervera at this occasion in order to set up a house for brothers, donats, and sisters, thereby turning the male commandery into a community with brothers and sisters (six) under a female commander.[39] Alternatively, she could request to move the community elsewhere. The envisioned house differed from priories for sisters such as Sigena or Buckland in the sense that the sisters did not elect a prioress; the Hospital appointed a commendatrix and replaced deceased sisters.[40] The commanders of Cervera and Alguaire were both among the witnesses.

The house at Cervera counted seven sisters in 1248: Marquesa, her youngest daughter, Gueralda, Ermesenda of Castellnou, Marquesa of Rajadell, Ermesenda of Odena, Ermesenda of Ofegat, and Elisenda of Alentorn. Marquesa had license from the general chapter in Spain to accept one more sister, and in October of the same year, Sibilia of Llorac joined the sisters. Furthermore, Elisenda of Jorba joined the community at Cervera sometime before 1250.[41] However, the sisters were not content to stay in Cervera and in 1250 petitioned the general chapter in Huesca to found a new religious house for women. Fernandez Rodríguez, commander in Spain, Pere of Alcalá, castellan of Amposta, and the whole general chapter granted Marquesa of Guardia their commandery at Alguaire in order to fulfill the sisters' wish. The donation was incredibly generous and included the house and commandery of Cervera, with its castles of Zamenla and Llorac as well as the town, castle, and commandery of Alguaire, with its towns and castles of Gaportella and Ratera. These came with knights, castellans, and men, cultivated lands and wilderness, houses, vineyards, gardens, mills, aqueducts and whatever else pertained to them.[42]

The commander in Spain (Fernandez Rodríguez) and the castellan of Amposta (Pere of Alcalá) declared that they acted out of pious devotion and that they had contemplated "with devout heart to build and establish a holy house as a work of mercy, a house in which those who are coming would be strong enough to weaken the contagious deceits of

the world, to obtain forgiveness of their sins, and to possess the crown of the heavenly kingdom." This was done for the honor of God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint John, and all the saints "wanting . . . to be patrons and participants, so that the brothers and sisters of our Hospital may be stronger and can serve God more devoutly."[43] The foundation was portrayed as a charitable act bringing spiritual benefits.

In regard to more practical matters, the foundation charter aimed at a balance of power between the prioress and the castellan, a balance that granted the prioress far more independence than that of an ordinary commander. It is notable, however, and indicative of the change in the character of the foundation, that the head of this house was a prioress, not a commendatrix, and that the house was regarded to be a *monasterium*, not a *preceptorium:* both imply that, instead of a commandery, this was to be a house in which professed women lived the religious life of Augustinian canonesses.[44]

The relationship between the prioress and the castellan was defined as follows: Marquesa and Gueralda were to construct a monastery for the "ladies" of the Hospital ("*domine*" is the term commonly used in Spain when referring to Hospitaller sisters) near the castle of Alguaire. It would be under the authority of the castellan of Amposta; the prioress and her convent were to observe the rule and regulations of the Hospital. If the prioress transgressed, the castellan could correct her. As at Sigena, the prioress was chosen by the convent and presented to the castellan, who needed to affirm the election, and he was to interfere only in a serious electoral dispute. Other officials such as the sacristan or cellaress could be appointed or dismissed without the castellan's interference. New brothers or sisters needed the approval of the castellan before they could be received, but the castellan did not have the right (in contrast to commanderies) to place a brother or sister in the monastery without the consent of the prioress. The castellan was required to place a commander in a monastery, if the prioress were to ask him for one. The prioress was permitted to accept brothers and sisters, but the number of sisters could not exceed twenty without the castellan's approval. If the castellan so desired, the prioress was to come to the general chapter. The sisters of Alguaire were relieved of any payments to the castellan for the first eight years of its existence. They could not, however, sell or otherwise alienate any of their possessions without the castellan's approval. Finally, the castellan was to defend the brothers and sisters and to take care of them in times of need.[45]

The new monastery had been built by c. 1260, and Pope Urban IV approved of the new foundation in 1262.[46] Gueralda was prioress by 1266, and two years later, her retired mother died, leaving a seemingly

well-endowed convent.[47] But not all was well. The Hospitallers and the sisters at Alguaire had entered into a heated dispute about money by 1267. At the foundation of Alguaire in 1250, the commander of Spain and the other brothers had promised the sisters maintenance in times of need and had acquitted the sisters at Alguaire from all payments to the Hospital (via the castellan of Amposta) for a period of eight years. Thereafter, however, it expected one-tenth of all proceeds, except for the fruits from the garden, gains from the forest, or food derived from animals. Seventeen years later, the brothers complained that they could not remove the prioress or other elected officials from Alguaire and that they had the obligation to provide for Alguaire in times of need, but that they were not receiving the same income from Alguaire as before: It had become an enormous financial burden. The pope charged the bishop of Saragossa, the prior of Teruel, and the archdeacon of Teruel to intervene. The details of the solution have been lost in time, but the outcome is clear: The sisters remained.[48]

Beaulieu

Beaulieu, a house of Hospitaller sisters in Quercy, France, was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century, again under unique circumstances. In the case of Beaulieu, a married couple donated an independent hospital to the Hospital of Saint John; this was later converted into a house of female Hospitallers and became the largest female Hospitaller house in France. The community moved to Toulouse in the seventeenth century and survived there until it was dissolved during the French Revolution.[49]

Beaulieu's long history began in 1236 when Guibert, knight and lord of Thémines, and his wife, Aigline, who came from the more prestigious family of Castelnau, decided to found a hospital. It was to be a house of charity, a hospital for the poor, pilgrims, and other destitutes located on the side of the road from Figeac to Rocamadour between the castles of Thémines and Gramat in a region now known as Quercy. Rolling hills and steep gorges with small rivers below characterize the landscape; the cliffs and ridges still limit the number of roads that connect the individual villages. The road from Figeac to Rocamadour, however, is relatively straight and level and in the thirteenth century was already a public road for the pilgrims visiting the shrine of Saint Amadour. The bishop of Cahors, Pons of Antejac, welcomed the foundation and authorized its construction in his diocese. The hospital was meant to take care of the physical and spiritual needs of needy poor and pilgrims, and for that reason a new chapel was built.[50]

The foundation appears to have been a success because within a few years the original foundation was no longer sufficient to support its charitable works. This growth prompted the new bishop of Cahors, Géraud V of Barasc, to become involved in 1245. In a charter, the bishop first recalled how Guibert of Thémines had constructed a hospital with a chapel for the honor of God, his soul, and the soul of his forefathers by license of Bishop Pons and had "endowed it competently enough with his goods according to his ability" out of great devotion and for the love of God.[51] Because, the bishop went on, he valued the hospital's care for the poor and pilgrims and its other charitable works, and because he wanted to avoid a disturbance of this work by a lack of income again in the future, he had decided to grant the hospital the church of Issendolus, in which parish the hospital was located. The bishop carefully stipulated the relationship between the church, the hospital, and the episcopacy. The income of the church was to go to the hospital and had to be spent according to the disposition of Guibert—or his wife, if she survived him—and finally the commander of the hospital. An unspecified part of the income, however, was to be reserved for a chaplain. In case of a vacancy, Guibert, or his wife in case she survived him, and finally again the commander of the hospital, with the consent of the brothers and sisters of the hospital, would present a candidate to the bishop. If he were honorable, the bishop would establish him in office. The church was set free from most burdens including episcopal visitation, but not from two yearly taxations: the *cathedraticum* and the *sinodaticum*.[52]

The endowment of the hospital remained a concern for Guibert, and in order to avoid any disagreement or uncertainty regarding the hospital's property, he issued another charter in 1253, this time with very specific information regarding its holdings. The signing of the charter took place in the hospital itself. Guibert and Aigline took an oath with their hands on the Gospels and swore that they and their successors would praise and approve the donation in perpetuity. They also promised to ratify, support, and protect the donation and to never act against its interests. Guests of honor were Géraud Malamort, the king's seneschal in Quercy,[53] and Bartholomew, the bishop of Cahors. The latter two attached their seals to the charter (now missing), and from the bishop's approval we may infer that he considered the donation sufficient to support the hospital.[54]

Guibert's donation gives the impression of a very compact, easy-to-manage collection of property. According to the charter of 1253 or 1254, the foundation was dispersed over six neighboring parishes, namely those of Albiac, Aynac, Bio, Issendolus, Rueyres, and Thémines, and consisted of property and the rights to several manors, three farms, two dove-cots, meadows, forest, a mill, and a plot of land in the village of Thémines

for the construction of a house or storage room.[55] The reason for its compactness was that the original holdings of Guibert had not been widely dispersed. Furthermore, in at least one case Guibert seems to have obtained property for this purpose. He acquired the lands and rights of a farm located in the parish of Issendolus from the inheritors of a certain Vesiani Boufat, thereby trying to ensure his religious foundation of a unified estate.[56] Douce, the daughter of Guibert and Aigline, had made a similar purchase for the hospital in 1250.[57]

Guibert's twenty years of involvement with his hospital did not end here. In 1259, he and Aigline, his wife, made the important decision to grant their foundation to the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. They made an irrevocable donation to "God, the Blessed Mary, the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, and the poor and the brothers of the said Hospital, and to brother Petro Beraldi [commander of Cahors]" in their name.[58] The two parties reached a mutually satisfactory agreement, and the commander accepted the donation in the name of the Hospital of Saint John with a special mandate from Ferrand of Barras, prior of Saint-Gilles, under whose authority their hospital would fall.[59] The act was drawn up by a notary of Figeac and signed by the abbot of Figeac, several knights, some burghers, some brothers, and Guillaume and Barascon of Thémines, sons of Guibert and Aigline. The latter assured the Hospital that subsequent generations would not claim the possessions of the Thémines. The hospital, still known by its name Peche Villauges, was subjected to the same visitation, correction, and obedience as the other houses of the Hospital. Furthermore, being a house of the Hospital of Saint John, it was to pay responsions, that is yearly contributions to the Hospital for "the subsidy of the Holy Land" of one mark sterling a year.[60] Finally, the Hospital was very careful to avoid the appropriation of any former debt, assuming no responsibility whatsoever. Guibert and Aigline, on their part, seem to have been especially concerned that the hospitality offered by the house would continue.[61]

Thus, from 1259 on, the hospital of Peche Villauges functioned as a house of the Hospital of Saint John. Two significant changes took place. First, the name Peche Villauges was replaced by the French name "Beaulieu" and is henceforth named *Bellus Locus* in the records. The second change concerned the brothers and sisters of the house. In 1253, the head of the hospital was a commander, and he ruled over both brothers and sisters. In 1259, the charter still mentions brothers and sisters. By the end of the century, however, the person in charge was a prioress.

Becoming part of the order of Saint John seems to have brought several advantages to the hospital at Peche Villauge. First, as a house of the Hospital of Saint John the hospital would benefit from the exempt status

of the order in the sense that it would not have to pay any tithes or other dues to the bishop and therefore would have more resources for charitable works. Even though the house had to pay some money to the order instead, the financial advantages seem to have been attractive for the Thémines. We have seen earlier how their hospital struggled, given its slim resources. The importance of this exemption is attested by the presence of a copy of Pope Lucius III's generic confirmation of the exempt status of the Hospital of Saint John in the hospital's cartulary; a copy was inspected and judged valid by Gualhard, the abbot of the monastery in Figeac in 1265, six years after Beaulieu became a Hospitaller house and likely in response to a questioning of this privilege.[62]

Another advantage of being part of an order rather than being an independent house was an increased chance of longevity. Many individual houses, hospitals as well as small monastic houses, ceased to exist within a few generations, thereby jeopardizing the spiritual advantages to their founders, namely through the discontinuation of the prayers benefiting the founders' soul. The individual house had a much better chance of survival with the resources of a large religious order behind it. Furthermore, a religious order, like the Hospital of Saint John, also increased prestige, encouraging recruitment and thereby again increasing the chance of survival. Once more, economic viability was essential for the religious foundation.

The Hospital of Saint John, too, was concerned with the economic viability of the hospital. It is clear from the charter that it tried to make sure that the donation would be an asset rather than a financial trap. The house had to be financially self-sufficient and able to provide for the inmates, support its charitable works, and contribute to the central government of the Hospital. The donors were responsible for any hidden debts. They received some income from the house, but after their death, no heirs could make any claims on the property. These demands are not extreme in themselves, but the long clauses in this donation charter indicate the Hospital's special concern.

Only in 1298 did Beaulieu get a separate rule. By this time it had become a house for female Hospitallers. William of Villaret, master of the Hospital of Saint John, recalled how Guibert and Aigline had founded the house, had become Hospitallers, and had given it to the order. The rule stated that the prioress and sisters were to be received by the prior of Saint-Gilles, who also had the right and obligation of visitation and reformation of the house. The regulations were as follows: When the prioress died, the sisters had forty days to elect a new prioress and present her to the prior of Saint-Gilles, who was to confirm the new prioress. The number of sisters was set at a maximum of thirty-nine, and not even the

prioress was allowed to exceed that number without the special license of the prior of Saint-Gilles, in order to avoid "overpopulation." New sisters were admitted with general consent from the other professed sisters, but any brothers at Beaulieu were received by the commander of Cahors. He confirmed the houses of Martel, Barbaras, Fontaynis, and Saint Lebola to Beaulieu and reminded them of their obligation to pay twenty-one pounds annually at the general chapter in Saint-Gilles. Aigline the prioress, Fina Bonafossa the sacristan, Gialiana Veteris Campis the cellaress, and the other sisters accepted the obedience, devotion, subjection, correction, reformation, and visitation of Saint-Gilles. The act was made up in the Hospitaller house of Tronquière, in the diocese of Cahors, and afterwards ratified by the sisters in their new chapter house.[63]

After Beaulieu, the Thémines family remained involved with the Hospital of Saint John and founded a second female Hospitaller house in its proximity. In 1287, William of Villaret, prior of Saint-Gilles and later master of the Hospital (1296–1305), received Guibert of Thémines, squire and most likely the grandson of the founder Guibert, as a *confrater* for his pledged loyalty. In exchange, the prior promised him burial in a cemetery of the Hospital and all the spiritual benefits of "the masses, hours and prayers of the whole Hospital East and West."[64] Guibert of Thémines, of the Hospital, and Guibert of Thémines, squire, donated the castle of Thémines and other possessions to the Hospitallers on August 14, 1300.[65] Guibert's uncle, Barascon of Thémines, also became involved with the Hospitallers. He decided to establish a separate foundation with his own lands at Celle and received permission from the king to do this in 1295.[66] It does not seem, however, that this foundation ever materialized, and in 1297, Barrascon made an arrangement with the order in which he exchanged property and received Les Fieux in order to establish there or at Celle a house for twelve Hospitaller sisters and a priest, who was in charge of the celebration of Mass. The sisters could elect their prioress, were subjected to visitation by the prior of Saint-Gilles, and were responsible for half a silver mark to be paid by the prioress at the yearly chapter meeting in Toulouse "for the poor overseas." Jordane of Villaret, William of Villaret's sister, became Les Fieux's first prioress.[67]

The arrangements made between Barrascon and the Hospitallers stipulated that Barrascon was responsible for the maintenance of his religious foundations but that he would arrange for it to be annexed to Beaulieu in his last will and testament. [68] In consequence, Les Fieux became part of a hierarchy that characterized the female Hospitaller houses in France in the fourteenth century. In 1308, Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospital after his brother William, subjected a house of male and female Hospitallers

in Curemont to Jordane and her sisters at Les Fieux. The community at Curemont was described as consisting of brothers, sisters, *donati,* and others who made up the monastic *familia*. It was subjected to visitation by the prior of Auvergne, and in return, he was responsible for the maintenance of its buildings.[69] A fourth house of female Hospitallers in the nearby Martel was the property of Beaulieu in 1298 and became a separate house dependent upon Beaulieu some time thereafter.[70]

Other Female Houses

There were several other houses for Hospitaller women in the thirteenth century, among them one at Penne in southern Italy. Isabella of Aversa had given the Hospitallers the church of Santa Maria Burgonovo in Penne under the condition that she and her sisters, who lived in the church, would receive the Hospitaller habit and accept the Hospitaller rule forever, "like the other brothers and sisters of the Hospital," on May 10, 1291. The house was therefore an existing religious community, which, unlike Beaulieu, consisted of women only at its donation. The agreement between Isabella and the Hospital of Saint John stipulated that Isabella retained the right to choose a prioress among the sisters (to be confirmed by the prior of Capua), and she would become the *adjudatrix* of the new foundation. After her death, the sisters had the right to choose a prioress themselves, again a choice to be confirmed by the prior. Penne was responsible for six golden *denarii* yearly ("and no more") to be paid to the order on the feast day of Saint John the Baptist, a common day for the payment of responsions. New in the regulations of Penne is the detailed arrangement for visitation. The sisters accepted a yearly visitation by the prior of Capua and promised to give hospitality to him and his two or three adjutants for the duration of their visit, which was to take no more than two or three days. [71]

Most of the documents of Penne have disappeared,[72] but the summary of one remaining charter suggests that a house for female Hospitallers was indeed set up: Dominic Marquesi of Penne and Flora, his wife, gave themselves and their goods to the order represented by Jacoba of Monte, prioress of Penne, and brother Simon of Aquila, chaplain, who received them in the name of Jacobus of Pocapaglia, prior of Capua. The act was drawn up in the church of the monastery of Santa Maria de Borgonovo (the church of the sisters) in Penne, next to the *parlatorium*, on June 15, 1300.[73]

Unfortunately, no foundational records remain for a number of other female Hospitaller houses that existed in the thirteenth century. A convent of women in Pisa became Hospitaller sometime before the death of

its saint Ubaldesca in 1205.[74] The early documents of Salinas de Añana in Castile, too, have been lost, but a document from 1302 refers to the house as "old."[75] For the sisters of Antioch, no more than a legend remained in which they heroically cut off their noses for the protection of their chastity when the Mamluks came to take their nunnery in 1268.[76] And the house of Hospitaller sisters in Acre is mentioned only once and in passing in 1219 in the delineation of property that abutted "the Hospitaller house in which Hospitaller sisters live."[77]

In Bethany, the Hospitallers tried to get their hands on the convent of Saint Lazarus in order to turn it into a house of female Hospitallers in 1256, but the patriarch of Jerusalem impeded their attempt.[78] At first, the papacy was in favor of the transfer of the Benedictine nunnery to the Hospital, because it would help the nuns cope with the threat of the pagans, who already had destroyed much of their property, and help the Hospitallers who desperately needed the income.[79] The arrangement was such that Benedictine nuns could remain in their convent but were to be replaced by Hospitaller sisters once they had died.[80]

James Pantaleon, the patriarch of Jerusalem, opposed the arrangement. He was a political enemy of the Hospitallers during the War of Saint Sabas, a war that divided the Christian community in the Latin East from 1256 to 1261; he was eager to maintain his ecclesiastical authority over the nunnery, which was threatened by the transfer to an exempt order, and he knew that the Hospitallers had exaggerated the nuns' plight. In 1259, James went to Rome with two complaints, one of them being the gift of Saint Lazarus to the Hospitallers, but the pope died before a decision was made. However, James himself was raised to the Holy See and as Urban IV could make his own decision: the gift was revoked.[81]

Around the same time, in 1257, the Hospital was in dispute with the *magistra* [mistress] and sisters associated with a church in Světec near Prague. The sisters had sent the pope, Alexander IV, a complaint that the Hospitallers were trying to incorporate them against their will. Apparently the women had been wearing the Hospitallers' insignia on their clothes willingly for some time but had not professed in the Order of Saint John and did not want to obey.[82] The pope ordered an investigation. The records of this investigation are lost, but it seems that despite the order's efforts, the Hospitallers did not manage to establish a house of sisters at Světec.

There had been an earlier conflict in which sisters wanted to be independent from the Hospitaller order. The Hospitallers had had a house of female Hospitallers in Aconbury, England, since 1233. The founder, Margaret of Lacy, daughter of William of Braose, had received lands at Aconbury (Herefordshire) from King John, possibly as repentance for his

ill treatment of the Braose family,[83] and she decided to build a house for religious women on the site. She then put her foundation into the hands of the Order of Saint John, and the Hospitallers bestowed the habit upon several women. A new community of Hospitaller sisters was formed, despite Henry II's stipulation that only Buckland was to contain the sisters of the order in England. Margaret, however, may not have been fully aware of the nature of the order. When she realized that the sisters were not independent, but instead subject to the prior of England, she asked the pope if the sisters could be detached from the Hospitallers. Her main concern was that her purpose of establishing a religious house would be frustrated since the sisters were "bound to go to other places, and to cross the seas" as part of their hospitaller duties.[84] The duty to go overseas is never mentioned anywhere else and seems curious and unlikely, but the Hospitallers did not contest the claim in their reply. Margaret suggested that the community become the independent house of canonesses regular that she had intended to found and begged the pope to forgive her initial ignorance.[85]

Pope Gregory IX gave the sisters permission to become independent from the order in 1237. Concerned with the proximity of the two sexes, the pope had suggested that if brothers were to live close to the sisters, only the elderly women should remain to take care of the poor and the sick in its hospital, and that the others should be placed in other nunneries. The Hospital, however, refused to let them go, and four years of litigation followed. The order argued that the sisters had professed and taken up the cross of the Hospitallers, promising never to leave; underlying this was its fear that if the sisters at Aconbury were allowed to leave the order, this would open the doors for other houses to follow, with the danger of alienation of property.[86]

In the meantime, discord existed within the house. The Hospitaller priest who was appointed to hear confessions and minister the sacraments to the sisters was accused of ill conduct. Furthermore, Aconbury had been without a prioress for six years, and a sister called Dionisia of Leche and others who favored the Hospitallers disobeyed the subprioress. Clearly, not all sisters shared the wishes of their founder. Finally, in 1237, a papal legate was ordered to free the sisters at Aconbury from the Hospitaller order, and the case was resolved.[87]

Evidence from the thirteenth century shows how the Hospitallers continued to receive women, willingly accepted them in male commanderies or in houses for sisters, and litigated when women wanted to leave the order.

While the twelfth century witnessed the foundation of three houses specifically for women (Manetin, Buckland, and Sigena), at least seven more were established in the thirteenth century: Pisa in Italy (before 1209), Acre in the Latin East (before 1219), Aconbury in England (before 1233), Alguaire in Spain (1250), Beaulieu in France (1259), Penne in Italy (1291), and Les Fieux in France (1297). Furthermore, Antioch in the Latin East (before 1268) and Salinas de Añana in Spain (before 1302) may also have functioned as houses for sisters in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, attempts were made to incorporate the nunnery Saint Lazarus of Bethany and a chapter of sisters serving the church of Světec near Prague. Several cases show that the Hospital of Saint John did more than just accept women: Aconbury was founded at the request of the Hospitallers, and when the foundress wanted to withdrawal her donation, the Hospitallers litigated; They misrepresented the threat of the Muslims in order to get Saint Lazarus of Bethany, and the master's sister became the first prioress of a female Hospitaller house in France. The Hospitallers were clearly disappointed by the financial inconvenience caused by Alguaire, but on the grand scale, the benefit of accepting women into the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem outweighed its burden, and a number of opportunities were available for women who wanted to join them.

CHAPTER 7

THE HOSPITAL AND ITS FEMALE MEMBERS

The Hospitaller brothers were well aware that interaction with women posed a risk. Hence, a vernacular version of the Hospitaller rule warned the brothers to keep a distance when they were near women:

> If you happen, unexpectedly
> To come where women trod,
> Watch with care your chastity,
> Which you have by the grace of God.
> . . . . .
> Lest Satan leashes your staff immediately;
> Do not allow a woman near your rod.[1]

Neither were the Hospitallers unaware of the advantages of segregated communities of religious men and women. They embraced this principle with the foundations of Sigena and Buckland in the 1180s and continued to set up houses for women thereafter. Yet they were never extreme in their segregation. Women were not required to be at a certain distance or to stay in their priories, nor was the segregation in fact imposed on all female members. Female Hospitallers lived in houses for sisters or commanderies, and their admission was never seriously challenged. The Hospitallers with their positive attitude toward having sisters stood out among the religious orders, which increasingly tried to control, distance, or dispose of female membership.

The question that remains is why did women become Hospitallers? This simple question is difficult to answer, especially with regard to the motivation of the women, because taking the vow was ultimately a personal choice and the available sources hardly ever give straightforward information on the postulant's motivation. What we are left with are likely reasons for women to be attracted to the Hospital (such as the

opportunity to serve in a hospital) or factors that contributed toward making their voluntary vows (such as family expectations).

Likewise, we can propose some general motives for the Hospital to accept women into sisterhood, even though the exact "benefits and honors" of the reception depended on the individual case.[2] The need of female staff in Hospitaller hospitals and the value men placed on the Hospitaller sisters' prayers were both reasons for accepting women. Most importantly, however, was the property, money, and family connections postulants could bring to the order, because the order depended on these in order to be able to support its efforts in the East.

The admittance of women into the Hospitaller order had consequences for its organization. Because it was not proper for religious women to share sleeping accommodations with men and it was preferable for men and women to eat and worship separately, special arrangements needed to be made for sisters. We have seen how the order resolved to set up houses specifically for sisters, for which the order provided spiritual care as well as economic assistance. These arrangements, to some extent, put the sisters in a position of dependence and burdened the order with responsibility. However, having sisters also brought the order spiritual and economic advantages, and the sisters benefited from the safety provided by the order's care. Women were welcome as long as the benefits of their presence outweighed its burden.

Why Female Members?

The Hospitallers' openness to receiving women had little to do with a special admiration for the feminine sex. The order's reason for their recruitment was much the same as the reason for recruiting men, namely that it needed the goodwill of supportive families and the donations that came with admissions of new recruits. The Hospitallers were perpetually in need of more money to support its military and hospitaller efforts in the East, and as they did not concentrate on a specialized profitable enterprise, such as the Cistercians' concentration on the wool business or the Templars' on banking,[3] this money had to come from donations—from estates that had been donated in the past or from estates that had been acquired purposefully as investments.[4] In order to keep the donations flowing in, it was very important for the Hospitallers to maintain good relationships with local noble families. With this in mind, the order decided in 1262 that the regional prior (rather than the master) was to make a decision on who to admit as sisters, because only he had sufficient insight into the extent of the profit of her acceptance or the damage of her refusal. This is not to say that women were not appreciated for their

contributions to the order once they were admitted: they were valued for their management of estates, their care in hospitals, and their prayers.

The Hospitallers' hospitaller background made it natural for the order to accept women. Women had been involved with the order since its earliest development just as women were involved with hospitals and hospitaller congregations all over Europe. As the Hospitallers took on an adapted Augustinian rule, women were not excluded. Even when the Hospitallers assumed military duties, the order kept its identity as a charitable order, and women continued their association.

The Hospitallers' willingness to accept women is more remarkable in light of the order's military functions, by which it has been defined but to which the sisters did not contribute much.[5] There is little evidence that women contributed to the order's military activities even though some women in the West acted as commendatrixes. Nor do the women seem to have been involved in the crusading effort, although a tenuous link was made in a letter sent by Pope Gregory X in 1274 to the master, the brothers, the prioresses, and the sisters of the Hospital of Jerusalem. The Pope granted the Hospitallers the exemption they had asked for, so that the Hospital thereby would have more support to recover the Holy Land from the enemies of the Christian faith.[6] The letter implies a perceived contribution in the fight against the Muslims by the sisters, who were included in the address, although the nature of this contribution was not specified and any physical contribution was unlikely. The implication is amplified by the fact that, while there were also copies addressed only to the master and the brothers, copies of the letter that included the sisters in its address have been preserved in many archival collections of female Hospitaller houses.[7]

The sisters' association with crusading, even if it were only an affective link, is perhaps best illustrated by the decorative frieze which was located in a room the between the cloister and the church at Sigena. The frieze, which was painted around 1200, depicts a lady (Sigena's foundress Sancha?) and a minstrel in a palace. Outside are a soldier fighting a devilish creature and a knight fighting a lion. The next image to the right, now heavily damaged, portrays Christians and Saracens in a naval battle. It is followed by a deer eating fruit from a tree, a lion holding a naked man, and a dismounted knight who is kneeling before a lady on her throne. Then, a picture of knights leaving a castle and in battle, a second warrior fighting a lion, and another battle scene. Following the frieze to the right, there is a retinue of pilgrims on camels and an assault on a castle (or as has been suggested, Acre). The final images in the series are of soldiers defending a castle and a cavalcade of knights.[8] This frieze, with its secular images from the early years of Sigena's existence, were likely

commissioned by Sancha herself and as such illustrate her occupation with crusading, even if the sisters themselves did not fight. The crusading spirit was certainly alive at Sigena in the 1920s, when the sisters were "ready to go at a moment's notice to the Holy Land."[9]

It seems, however, that the sisters were more involved with hospitaller care than heretofore has been argued.[10] Considering the extent of the Order of Saint John, a relatively small number of Hospitaller commanderies had hospitals attached to them. Their focus seemed to have been to manage estates to support the order's hospital and military activities in the East rather than providing care to the poor locally. The houses for sisters did not manage public hospitals either (except, perhaps, at Aconbury).[11] However, table 7.1 shows that of the thirty-five commanderies with women, ten had public hospitals and two others may have provided hospital care, too, and we should therefore not dismiss the possibility that sisters or lay associates of Hospitaller commanderies were involved in hospital or hospice care. The table also shows that, of the thirty-five commanderies with women, six had female commanders at some time, and none of these houses give an indication of a hospitaller function, except perhaps Cervera.[12] In short, it seems that female Hospitallers in houses for women or in houses commanded by women may not have had a hospital function but that commanderies with women sometimes did, and it is therefore possible that women in these commanderies were involved in hospital care in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As mentioned, women were involved with care in the Hospitallers' large hospital in Jerusalem. This hospital was served by a community of sisters and brothers who reportedly cared for up to 2000 patients of both sexes.[13] The hospital had wards for women with a separate kitchen, and *sorores*, together with brothers and "noble pilgrims," brought food from the kitchen to the patients. The sisters also checked on the wet nurses who were paid to care for the Hospitals' foundlings.[14]

In the West, the hospital and church of Saint-Rémézy in Toulouse were given to the Hospitallers as early as 1114 and continued to function throughout the Middle Ages.[15] The first reference indicating that it housed both brothers and sisters dates from 1187 when Bernard of Saint-Rémy and his wife had given a large farm in Saint-Cyprien to the Hospital and the prior promised them the habit whenever they wanted and care like "the other brothers and sisters of the hospital."[16] Also at Saint-Rémézy, Guillelma was promised the habit and provision as one of the sisters in the future in 1203,[17] and Bruna was promised to be made sister at her discretion in 1214.[18]

Furthermore, the Hospitallers were established in Genoa, where they had built a large new hospital by 1180.[19] The sisters here seem to have had

Table 7.1 The presence of lay associates, sisters, and hospitals in Hospitaller commanderies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Region	*Evidence of Female Lay associates?*	*Evidence of Sisters?*	*Evidence of Hospital?*
ENGLAND			
Carbrooke		YES	YES
Clanfield		YES	YES
Gosford		YES	
Hogshaw		YES	
Shingay		YES	
Hampton		YES	
FRANCE			
Avignon	YES		
Beaulieu		YES	YES
Gap	YES		
Orgeuil		YES, Commendatrix	
Saint-Gilles	YES	YES	
Toulouse	YES	YES	YES
Trinquetaille	YES	YES	
ITALY			
Genoa	YES	YES	YES
Milan	YES		
Verona	YES	YES	YES
SPAIN			
Almunia		YES, Commendatrix	
Amposta	YES		
Añon		YES, Commendatrix	
Barcelona	YES		
Bargota		YES	Possibly
Boxerols	YES	YES	YES
Cervera	YES	YES, Commendatrix	Possibly
Grisen	YES	YES, Commendatrix	
Leach		YES, Commendatrix	
Lleida	YES		
Sagües	YES		
S. Jaume		YES	
S. Salvador d'Isot	YES	YES	
S. Valentí	YES		YES
Siscar	YES	YES	
Zaragoza	YES		
LATIN EAST			
Antioch		YES	
Acre	YES	YES	YES
Jerusalem	YES	YES	YES

Note: This table does not include houses specifically for women.

their own community and hospital by 1285, when Giacomina della Volta left 10s specifically to the sisters of the Hospital of Saint Pré for distribution among their patients. Unfortunately, neither the case of Johanna Pevere, who wanted to leave the Genoese Hospitallers in 1226,[20] or the case of Orta, who associated with the Hospitallers there in 1233,[21] provides conclusive evidence. In addition, it seems that sisters were part of a Hospitaller hospital community in Verona in 1178.[22]

There is also some indication that the Hospitaller hospice or hospital in Sant Valentí in Catalonia had female associates, among them the earlier mentioned Ponçeta.[23] The house received at least two donations in the last quarter of the twelfth century in gratitude for the service it had provided as hospice, including the donation made by Arsend, who in her own words, "would surely have died from hunger if it were not for the food and counsel given by the hospital" and some friends and family.[24]

We have seen that sometimes hospitals with their communities of brothers and sisters came to the Hospital as such––in the Crown of Aragon, for example, where King James I ordered the house and hospital of Boxerols with its brothers, *converse*, *conversi*, *donate*, and *donati* to be subjected to the house of Hospitaller sisters at Sigena in 1227.[25] In France, Guibert, lord of Thémines, and his wife Aigline donated their hospital with its brothers and sisters to the Hospitallers in 1259.[26] These donations brought about the presence of mixed-sex hospitaller communities within the order.

The evidence for other hospitals is less conclusive. Archaeological evidence of a Saint Leonard's chapel in Clanfield suggests that there was a possible hospital there, and according to Dugdale's *Monasticon,* there was a hospital at Carbrooke.[27] Cervera possibly started as a hospital, because in 1111, Berenger Bernard of Sant Domi and his wife, Ermesend, made a donation "to the hospitals of Jerusalem and Cervera," but there is no correlating archaeological evidence.[28] Finally, there may have been a hospital at Bargota, since Fortun of Subsidia gave his property specifically to the poor sick in that house.[29]

The presence of women in Hospitaller hospitals only accounts for a small number of Hospitaller women, and does not explain the large number of women devoted to the Divine Office. In order to understand their presence fully, it is necessary to take their religious contribution seriously. The Hospital of Saint John was above all a religious order. Its military and hospitaller activities set it apart from some other religious orders, but its aim, like all religious orders, was to create an apostolic life for men and women in order to please God. In this framework, the sisters were spiritual assets.

In fact, the military orders felt some inferiority because of their involvement in the worldly activity of warfare, and the Hospitallers sought to combat their image of offering an undemanding life by emphasizing their religious demands in, for example, their ceremony for profession and other religious activities. [30] The brothers were supposed to follow a routine according to the liturgical hours, filling at least part of the day with prayer and religious exercises.[31] Among other religious duties, the *usances,* or customs, of the Hospitallers required that each brother who was not a priest say 150 paternosters a day.[32] They also fasted or abstained from eating meat on certain days.[33] The brothers, like other religious, initially had a strict dress code that involved wearing a *cappa clausa* [a mantle sewn closed], but because this limited the brothers' movement, in 1248 Pope Innocent IV allowed it to be replaced with a surcoat when wearing armor.[34]

The Hospitallers were somewhat successful in raising their image as a religious order, as contemporaries often placed the brothers of the order on a par with Augustinian canons. For example, the founder of Buckland seemed to be indifferent as to whether the house was Augustinian or Hospitaller, and four of the Augustinian canons previously residing at Buckland became Hospitallers without any complications, which suggests that there was some similarity in their way of life.[35] Nevertheless, a distinction between the Hospital and Augustinian canons remained: after a certain Augustinian canon, brother B., became a Hospitaller, he asked the pope for permission to return to his former order because, as he claimed, he was disappointed by the Hospitallers' lack of spiritual rigor.[36] This lack of spiritual rigor of the Hospitaller brothers contrasts with the religious dedication of the majority of their sisters.

Most sisters in female houses followed a life similar to Augustinian canonesses and led a life devoted to the divine service and were therefore a spiritual asset in and of themselves. Margaret of Lacy claimed that she had mistakenly taken the Hospitaller sisters for Augustinian canonesses when she founded her house at Aconbury. In 1237, Pope Gregory IX allowed these sisters at Aconbury to become an independent community of Augustinian canonesses.[37] The rule of Sigena, the only known rule specifically for Hospitaller sisters, prescribed in detail a life devoted to religious contemplation. Silence was obeyed, the day was planned according to the liturgical hours, and the liturgy of the hours was sung. The *sacrista* prepared the church, the precentrix led the singing, and the prioress led the praying. In addition, certain times of the day were devoted to private reading.[38] At Buckland, the sisters had their own church where, as with other houses, a brother-priest would say mass and administer the sacraments. Later evidence further illustrates a religious life for Hospitaller

sisters: in Frisia, Hospitaller sisters sang and read the liturgical hours in the fourteenth century,[39] and the sisters at Buckland owned a Psalter in Latin, which included a calendar, canticles, and fragments of the office for the dead in the fifteenth century.[40]

The sisters' prayer added a contemplative dimension to the order, and they were valued for this contribution. A life of contemplation was generally considered pleasing in the eye of God, and the Hospitallers expected therefore that the liturgical labor performed by their sisters would benefit the order as a whole. The Hospital approved of the new religious life proposed for their sisters at Sigena in 1187 because it believed that it was inspired by religious devotion and would improve the order's honor.[41] In 1297, the master of the Hospital approved a new rule for its sisters at Beaulieu, explaining that:

> Having taken into consideration the statutes of Beaulieu, where our religion (order) flourishes under the zeal of fatherly care, we extend our goodwill to the statutes of the such venerable house of our order, so that the uprightness of devotion will thrive with even more fervor among the prioress and the sisters in Christ of Beaulieu who wear the habit and observe the rule of our religion. The perfection of their reverence shall reflect and the promptness of reverence shall serve God and our order.[42]

Furthermore, some of the Hospitallers' better known saints were women, and the veneration of these female saints must have added to the Hospital's admiration for its sisters' spiritual and charitable contributions. Saint Ubaldesca (1136–1206), whose coming to the Hospital in Pisa, according to her hagiographer, was announced by the angels, was known for her humble charity and for turning water into wine.[43] Saint Toscana (1280–1343), according to tradition, was a lay and married woman who cared for the sick in the Hospitaller hospital of the Holy Sepulcher in Verona, which was later dedicated to her.[44] Also, Saint Fleur (1300–1347) is still remembered for her tending to the poor and sick, even though her hagiography does not give any indication of her charity. Instead, she was an eccentric mystic whose experiences of hovering during Mass and of being pregnant with the cross upset the day-to-day communal life at Beaulieu.[45] No matter what their actual past relationship with the order, these women were venerated as sainted Hospitaller sisters and brought the Hospital spiritual merit.

It must be added that caring for religious women who were in need of male support was thought of as a charitable deed, so the act of accepting a women and thereby helping her achieve a religious life was an act of charity in itself.[46] Foundation charters of female Hospitaller houses show that

the Hospitallers considered their new foundation for women a charitable act. This was stated most plainly in the foundation charter of Alguaire, where Fernandez Rodríguez, commander in Spain, and Pere of Alcalá, castellan of Amposta, called the foundation a work of mercy.[47]

Above and beyond bringing spiritual benefits, women contributed to the order with money and power. Military activities, hospital care, and religious contemplation all required financial support, and sisters, lay or professed, brought income with them. At times, donations were modest, but some women were independently wealthy and brought substantial estates with them when entering the Hospital. For example, and as we have seen, when Adelaide became a sister at Trinquetaille, she made a considerable donation of a meadow, the use of ships, and several houses in Arles.[48] Constance of France, Countess of Saint-Gilles, donated a village when she committed herself as *consoror*, and so did Cristiana, the daughter of Roger of Caiaphas [Haifa].[49] A good indication of what was deemed a necessary donation for entry is the testament of Raymond of Tous, who designated 300 morabatins of his inheritance to be sent to the Hospital with his wife, Ermesenda, and his daughter, Berengaria, so that they would be received as sisters.[50] The Hospitaller hope for income had also been the main motivation for the Hospitallers' request for the transfer of Saint Lazarus of Bethany to their order.[51] But perhaps little is as telling as the miracle of Ubaldesca, who, at her entry, was *not* asked to pay an admission fee.[52]

In addition to their wealth, women could bring influential connections with them through their family relations. Maria Comnena, Queen (dowager) of Jerusalem, and Constance, Countess of Saint-Gilles and sister to King Louis VII of France, were female lay associates with considerable power; Marquesa of Guardia, Queen Sancha, and Major of Aix were sisters in Spain to whom it was equally difficult to say "no." Hospitallers were well aware that attracting these ladies could result in further support by their family members, sometimes spanning over generations: Sancha's son and grandson, Pedro and Jaime, kings of Aragon, supported the Hospitallers and Sigena after her death, and the extended family of Aigline de Thémines supported the Hospitallers and Beaulieu.[53]

The advantages of female association were recognized during a meeting of the general chapter in Acre in 1262. At this meeting, at which the assembly was concerned with the financial situation of the order, the order relaxed its policy regarding the admission of sisters; it allowed the priors to accept new female recruits without special permission of the master of the order because a local prior was thought "to have a better insight into the advantages of accepting a particular sister or the damage of refusing her."[54] The local prior, of course, was in a better position to

judge the status and family connections of a female recruit and therefore of any local political gain or loss to be had with her reception or refusal.

The importance of existing family ties with the Hospital for recruitment was not specific to the Hospital but was nevertheless crucial. In some cases, such as we have seen at Prague, the family relations could be quite extensive, because the Hospital accepted men and women and allowed them to live together.[55] Hence, mothers could enter with their sons, and couples could enter together, although they had to renounce their marriage before they could profess, or else become donats first and wait to profess until widowhood. Family relations may also have been an important factor in the Hospitaller willingness to accept women; for example, family ties probably played a role in commander Guillem of Jorba's decision to accept his mother into his commandery.[56] Furthermore, it cannot have been a coincidence that master William of Villaret's sister became the prioress of the newly established house for female Hospitallers at Les Fieux.[57]

Status and family connection could have been a motivator for the women, too. In other cases, women chose to join female members of their family who were already associated with the Hospitallers. Alfonso II's provision for his daughter, Major, comes to mind, which allowed her to become a sister at her mother's foundation at Sigena.[58] Lists of sisters of Beaulieu in 1298 and 1347 show several sisters sharing the same surname—Helis Aimerigua (1298, 1347), Flor Aimerigua (1347), and Aiglina Aimerigua (1347); Helis of Castelnau (1298), Guillerma of Castelnau (1298), and Dossa of Castelnau (1347)—which suggests that they were members of the same families.[59]

Some of the sisters' houses, in particular Sigena, became aristocratic establishments.[60] Because it had noble members and was well-known, the Hospital of Saint John was able to give its sisters a certain status, which most merely local establishments could not do. The increasing social hierarchy within the Hospital made the Hospital attractive to knights, who retained their status after admission. Although there were still no sisters-at-arms (the female equivalent of brothers-at-arms) or requirements of a noble bloodline for admission in the period we are concerned with, the aristocratic air of the Hospital seems to have attracted some ladies of high rank such as Agnes, daughter of William, Earl of Arundel, at Buckland; Oria of Guerra, "domne orie venerabile sorori nostre," at Bargota, Navarre; and Marquesa of Guardia, daughter of Ramon of Cervera, Lord of Alguaire, and his wife, Miracle of Urgel.[61]

There were many reasons why women would opt for joining the Order of Saint John, and postulants were likely swayed by more than one reason. For some women, the order offered opportunities that may

not necessarily have been available to them in the secular world. These included leadership positions such as acting as prioress, subprioress, or cellaress in one of the female religious houses or, in the case of a small number of women, as commandatrix of a commandery. Other women were involved with the care of the sick and the poor supervising wet nurses or managing a ward in one of the order's hospitals such as in Toulouse or Jerusalem. Choir sisters at female Hospitaller houses, and in particular the presentrix at Sigena or the cantoress at Beaulieu, were able to devote their life to music and prayer.[62] At Sigena and perhaps Buckland, women had the opportunity to educate younger girls and to read books.

Executive positions usually required that the sister was of an elevated social position, especially when the women in position ruled over men, as was the case with the commendatrixes in Spain and the prioress of Sigena. However, there were no statutes in the twelfth or thirteenth century decreeing that sisters should be noble, and the Order of Saint John also offered opportunities to women who were not. It is likely that even women of humble background could find opportunities, for example as nurses serving the poor in a hospital or as cooks preparing meals for a community of sisters, much like brothers sergeants or *conversae* of Cistercian nunneries, but there is very little evidence for women of lower status.

For some women, the Order of Saint John was attractive because it offered security. The motivation could be financial: a person could affiliate herself or a family member in order to ensure lifelong care as sister or lay sister. Gila, for example, became a *consoror* of the Hospital in 1175, and it was agreed that the order would receive her inheritance at her burial, but in case she would fall into poverty, the Hospitallers promised to care for her.[63] Guillelma, on the other hand, arranged that she would live in one of the houses connected with the Hospitaller hospital in Toulouse and be cared for like one of the sisters. The prior offered her water and bread for life, and the use of a piece of land to be exploited by her for income. She could, if she so wished, become a true sister at a later date.[64]

Guillelma's arrangement was very similar to that of a corrodian, except for the promise of the Hospitaller habit. Corrodians were laypersons in permanent care of a religious establishment. Their relationship with the religious house was primarily economic. In principle, a lay sister had closer spiritual ties with the order than a corrodian, but in reality, it is not always easy to distinguish a lay associate from a corrodian, especially when corrodians were promised burial.

The motivation could also be political: It is well possible that Constance, Countess of Saint-Gilles, associated herself with the order as *consoror* in order to ensure political security while she was making her pilgrimage

to Jerusalem—it could not hurt to affiliate oneself with the order that had its occidental headquarters in Saint-Gilles.[65] Maria Comnena may also have had strong political motivations when she became "*confrater*" of the Hospital of Saint John in 1180, when she and her family were fully engaged in a struggle for power in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[66]

For many women, the Order of Saint John provided an alternative to marriage. For some, like Alassina Lercari, this meant that they would become Hospitaller sisters at a young age rather than be betrothed. Alassina was seventeen years old when decided to enter the Order of Saint John at Genoa. She donated her inheritance that came to her from her father, and because she received the inheritance and her mother is not mentioned, she may have been an orphan. No husband is mentioned.[67] It was said that Clarice was over eight years old when she became a novice at Buckland and that she professed at the age of twelve.[68] Dulce, the youngest daughter of Queen Sancha, probably came to Sigena at a similar age.[69] Women who were brought up at the Jerusalem hospital as foundlings, but who choose to stay when they came of age, likewise joined the order without having been married.[70] Others, like Rixende Autard, chose to break up their marriage in favor of a religious life. Rixende gave her husband usufruct of her property until his death and had his permission for its eventual donation to the Hospitallers. Furthermore, he allowed her to be chaste so that she could give herself "as handmaiden and sister to the Hospital of Jerusalem (at Trinquetaille, France)."[71] Many women, however, did not become sisters until they were widowed either because they had made vows as donates that the surviving spouse would become a Hospitaller or because not until widowhood did they then have control over property, which they were free to donate to the order.

Women who wanted to join the Order of Saint John faced the same restrictions as men: they had to be free, without debt, not married or at least have their spouse's consent, old enough to make a profession, of a sane mind, and not previously professed to a religious house or order; although in practicality, any of these obstacles could be overcome.[72] Ideally, recruits were adults able in mind and body, untied, and of means. And they were to join the Hospital voluntarily.

The Hospitallers, like other reformed religious orders, criticized child oblation and emphasized voluntary profession. When children were admitted, they could choose whether to make a profession when they came of age. The orphans in Jerusalem, for instance, who were in the care of the Hospital, had the option of becoming a brother or sister of the Hospital or getting married,[73] and sons of noblemen in Spain who were left to the Hospital to be educated could make a profession at a later date or not, as they chose. Loppe de San Pedro, for example, arranged for his

son to be accepted by the Hospitallers "who will teach him literacy [*litteras*] and keep him there until he is twenty years old"—at which point the son would have the choice of remaining with the order or going out into the secular world.[74] Juan of Lignag is another example of someone who was brought up by the Hospitallers. He was accepted into the Hospital in his *infancia* in the Hospital at Zaragoza, decided to stay when he reached the age of consent, and confirmed his profession in 1165. Only at his confirmation did the Hospital receive his property.[75] Likewise, Bruna, already widowed, was offered to be received "as sister and participant" at Toulouse whenever she should decide to come to the "holy religion and order of the of the said hospital, out of free will and according to the rule and regulations of the said Hospitaller order."[76] In accordance with canon law, and because of the obvious benefits of having willing participants, the Hospital wanted to ensure that someone who became a Hospitaller wished to be a Hospitaller.[77]

Ironically, the importance of voluntary profession becomes most clear in the exceptional cases in which the principle of voluntary profession was violated. Alicia, for example, claimed that she had professed at Buckland only under pressure of her husband, who had wanted to join the Hospitallers himself.[78] Another illustrative, though late, case is that of Clarice, who was a professed sister at Buckland in 1389. In this instance, David, a relative of Clarice, accused her former legal guardian, Walter, of taking Clarice to the sisters of Saint John at Buckland while she was only seven years old so that he could take her lands. According to David, the sisters supported Walter's cause by threatening Clarice that if she left through the priory's door the devil would take her away. The matter was brought to an ecclesiastical court, and the bishop of Bath and Wells replied to the accusation, stating that Clarice had been taken to the prioress at Buckland in 1385 of her own free will to see if life in the convent would please her, and that she was at that time more than eight years old. He continued that when she was more than twelve years old she had assumed the religious habit according to the manners and customs of the house. He concluded that she was now more than fourteen years old and well contented with the religious life.[79]

Clarice's age was important in this case because she needed to be old enough to make an informed decision. For the same reason, it was important that the postulant was of a sane mind. Johanna, for example, contested her Hospitaller profession with the argument that she had not been in a state of mind in which she could have been responsible for her choices, which was a powerful argument because mental competence was required for a legal religious profession.[80] "I say and protest," Johanna said according to a statement drawn up in the Saint Leonard chapel of the

Hospital in Genoa in 1233, "that if I have ever said anywhere anything that indicated that it seemed good to me to give myself to the Hospital of Saint John or the religion of that Hospital, I was out of my mind and very disturbed because my husband was just recently killed. I was deceived, and maliciously and violently made to say those words if I have said that in any way . . . I do not want to be in the hospital of Saint John or to be held to their religious observance."[81]

Johanna explained that she had had the understanding that she had a chance to first see whether the Hospitaller observance would please her before making her profession, and since it did not please her, that she was free to go.[82] Her first argument, that she was made a sister against her will, would allow her to leave religion; the second would at least give her the option to be transferred to a different, probably stricter, observance.[83]

To conclude, The Hospitallers' recruitment of women was not a strategy in itself but a consequence of its continuous efforts to acquire donations, which it needed to support its expensive hospitaller and military operations in the East. The recruitment was local, and women, with very few exceptions, remained in a Hospitaller house close to home.[84] Some of these women were from highly noble families, or even royalty. Most recorded recruits, however, came from local noble families or urban elites. They were attracted to the Hospital for a number of reasons (and often for more reason than one) for it offered, among other things, a link with crusading, care of the poor, life as an Augustinian canoness, security, and an alternative to marriage. The women were valued for their work, their spiritual contributions, and the support they brought with them. Women were willingly recruited, and sometimes pressured, to become Hospitaller sisters.

Cura and Clausura

The willingness to accept women led to existence of Hospitaller sisters, which, like the presence of women in any religious order, required the Hospital to make arrangements to accommodate their gender whether the Hospitaller sisters were accommodated in commanderies or in houses specifically established for them. Unfortunately, we know very little about the accommodation of women within commanderies. Presumably, there was some kind of physical separation, especially in the sleeping arrangements, but the written sources are silent on this subject.[85] In the case of Grisén, it seems that the aim was to construct a separate building for women to live in, but the outcome of that project is uncertain.[86] The sisters in Genoa, however, seem to have had their own residence,

hospital, and chapel at some distance from the main commandery where the brothers lived and the sisters in Jerusalem had their own *palacium* [large building] with hospital wards for women.[87]

Women who lived in female houses lived within the confines of their houses but were not as strictly enclosed as, for example, Cistercian nuns or Poor Clares. In 1128 a Cistercian counsel determined that the nuns at Jully would be subjected to locks and bolts:

> Wido, Abbot of Molesme, confirms, with the counsel of...Bernard of Clairvaux...that in the monastery of Jully no door will remain through which anyone can enter to go to the nuns, except for one which will be in the choir. In it, fittingly, will be four bolts, two on the inside and two on the outside, the keys of which the women and monks, who the abbot of Molesme appoints, will guard. That door will never be opened unless for the consecration of nuns or for a solemn occasion assembly as is custom, or of sick women who are not able to come, and this is done by at least two suitable monks, or for the sacred unction of the sick or to take out or to fetch the dead from inside, or such inevitable necessities which cannot be fulfilled except by men, and, once more, this is done by at least two suitable men.[88]

The Poor Clares, or Clarisses as they are also known, embraced a new Benedictine rule that imposed the ancient ideal of enclosure, which was officially approved by Pope Innocent IV in 1253.[89] It included the following provision of a grille:

> At the grille a curtain is to be hung inside which is not to be removed except when the Word of God is being preached, or when a sister is speaking to someone. The grille should also have a wooden door which is well provided with two distinct iron locks, bolts, and bars, so that, especially at night, it can be locked by two keys, one of which the Abbess is to keep and the other the sacristan; it is to be locked always except when the Divine office is being celebrated and for reasons given above. [90]

How different was the life prescribed to the Hospitaller sisters of Sigena! The rule of Sigena did not espouse the ideal of enclosure nor did it suggest locks or bolts. Quite contrary, it contains provisions for the burial of sisters who happen to die outside the convent's confines.[91] Sancha herself stressed that the walls she had built around Sigena were not meant to enclose the sisters.[92] The statutes of Alguaire did not specify enclosure either, and there is no other evidence that strict enclosure was enforced there.[93] From the life of Saint Fleur we learn that she, a professed sister at Beaulieu in the first half of the fourteenth century, could leave the

convent and receive visitors of either sex. On the whole, the sisters lived like Augustinian canonesses and a grille was absent.

Enclosure, of course, is a matter of degree. Male Hospitallers, like men in other military religious orders, did not take a vow of stability and were therefore in theory free to move to commanderies where they were needed most, to travel to regional chapter meetings, or to go to battlegrounds if their superior asked them to do so. But a brother in a humble position was not free to come and go when and wherever he pleased—he needed permission. Men in mendicant orders did not take a vow of stability either, and they often traveled about to beg for alms and preach. The lack of stability sets the men in mendicant and military religious orders apart from those in monastic orders. The mendicant sisters, however, were, as we have seen, subjected to rigorous enclosure and not allowed to beg or preach.

The case of the Hospitaller sisters was more ambiguous and caused some concern among contemporaries. Hospitaller sisters did not take vows of stability but were often protected from being moved from their house by their founders. Margaret of Lacy, who had not made this specification, was very concerned that the sisters of her foundation might be moved overseas, since this would diminish the spiritual benefits of their prayers for herself, the benefactor. Alfonso II explicitly stated that the sisters of Grisén could not be moved and so did King Henry II of England for the sisters of Buckland. The pope confirmed that the sisters of Alguaire could not be moved.

The prioress of Alguaire, however, could be required by the Castellan of Amposta to travel to a chapter meeting.[94] There is cartulary evidence that shows that the prioress of Sigena occasionally traveled: to Zaragoza in 1212, Pina in 1213, and Huesca in 1216, but in 1226 she was required to ask permission of the castellan of Amposta and travel in the company of nine knights and at least two female servants.[95] Individual sisters went East at times, but their examples are few and their travel seems to have been voluntary. The sisters needed to be in the convent to take care of the liturgy and other matters on a day-to-day basis, and those who did not exercise particular functions needed permission from the prioress before they could go out of the gate. Even without a grille, the movement of Hospitaller sisters was therefore limited. Hospitaller sisters in general, unlike brothers, were not moved from one house to another and seem to have traveled long distances only occasionally.

Just because enclosure was not enforced at Sigena, Beaulieu, or Alguaire, we should not assume that none of the houses for Hospitaller women enforced enclosure because the Hospitallers lacked a standard policy on the accommodation of women (in fact, the only general legislation

on sisters was the decision made in 1262 *not* to centrally regulate their admission). Because in most cases the Hospitallers were encouraged by their patrons rather than acting out of ideological drive, the arrangements for women were established on a case-by-case basis depending on the negotiations between the Hospital, the particular donor, and the sisters. Consequently, the houses for Hospitaller sisters varied in their organization.

Organization

All houses of female Hospitallers were given a place within the hierarchical structure of the order. On the top of this hierarchy was the master, who was always a male and who was generally seated at the Hospitallers' headquarters, which were in Jerusalem until 1187 and then in Acre until 1291. A second, regional tier was in place, which was called a priory ("castellany" in Spain). Local houses of brothers, the commanderies (also called preceptories), managed estates and answered to the prior. The communities of sisters were not quite like commanderies; they were under the leadership of a prioress who was chosen by her convent and confirmed by the local prior or the castellan. These prioresses had much greater autonomy than Hospitaller commanders (also called preceptors), who were appointed by the prior or castellan.

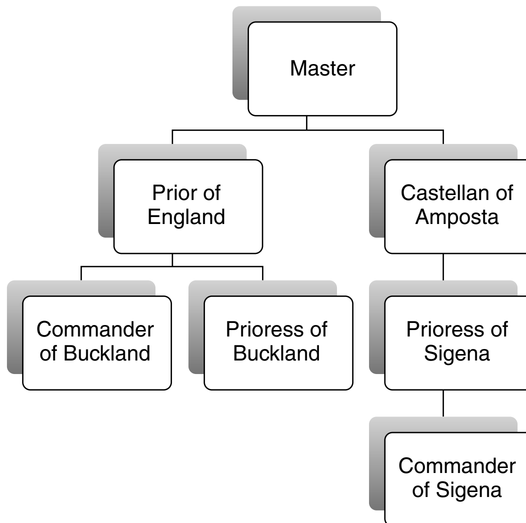


Figure 7.2 The relationship of Sigena and Buckland with the Hospital

Details vary. Sigena was ruled by a prioress, who had control [*potestas*] over everything that belonged to the house and who had command [*imperium*] over all brothers, sisters, *confratres*, and everyone else who remained in the house, laypeople as well as clergy. The brothers formed a community within the community, as their commander answered directly to the prioress [Fig. 7.2]. They had to be received and appointed by the castellan, but he could not move or install anyone without the approval of the prioress and the sisters. In case the house did not function properly, the castellan could intervene to correct the incompetence of the sisters at Sigena (as long as he did this with compassion). However, if the prioress herself turned out to be incapable of performing her functions well, the master was not allowed to remove her without the consent of the sisters. If the sisters of the house misbehaved, they were subjected to correction according to the judgment of the prioress, who was to comply with the general rule of the Hospital. In case the prioress was not sure how to handle the misbehavior, she could call upon the knowledge and advice of the castellan.[96]

A similar arrangement was made at Alguaire, where new brothers or sisters needed the approval of the castellan, but where the castellan had no right to force a candidate upon the convent. If the prioress or the brothers and sisters requested a commander, the castellan was held to provide one.[97] In contrast, the prioress of Beaulieu had no say over the brothers, who were received by the commander of Cahors, a town nearby but too far away to serve the brothers of Beaulieu as a residence. The sisters of Beaulieu were to be received with the general consent of all sisters, a specification not found for other houses.[98]

The arrangements at Buckland were quite different. Here, there really were two houses placed right next to each other: one a house of sisters also known as Mynchin Buckland, and the other a commandery of brothers. The commandery functioned more or less like other commanderies in England, except that it had to provide for the steward and priests of the sisters nearby.[99] Both houses were answerable to the prior of England at Clerkenwell. Unlike Sigena's prioress, Buckland's prioress had no authority over the brothers, and the prior of the order in England appointed a commander with the approval of the master to govern the brothers. The difference between the arrangements at Buckland, where the prioress had no control over the brothers, and those at Sigena, where the prioress was in control, may have been due to the founders themselves: Queen Sancha possibly envisioned herself as a future prioress, while Henry II naturally had no such ambitions himself for Buckland and therefore must have been less inclined than the queen to establish control by women over men.

When houses of sisters became part of the Order of Saint John, they entered an economic relationship that required the collaboration between the sisters and their brothers. While the economic ties ideally ensured the women's material well-being and brought the Hospital economic profit, it could turn into a financial strain on the Hospital or an oppressive dependency for the women. The documentation on the economic relationship between brothers and sisters is exceptionally rich in the case of Buckland, partly because Roger of Vere, prior of England (1265–1272), had to settle several disagreements between the brothers and sisters in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. While the details of this arrangement are perhaps not replicated in any other house, the case of Buckland allows us to gain insight into the extent of the economic dependency of the sisters.[100]

Mynchin Buckland and the commandery at Buckland each had its own economic basis: the brothers received the manor of Halse, which Robert of Arundel had donated to the Hospitallers in 1152, while the sisters received at the foundation all those possessions formerly owned by the Augustinian canons who had lived in the house before them.[101] The sisters were responsible for the management of their own estates. The prioress controlled her own bookkeeping and decided on matters such as the sale of flax or wool. The *cosyner* [cook] and the cellaress, or two other appointed sisters, were in charge of the distribution of the sisters' grain. They oversaw the deliveries to the granary and kept the books. The sisters decided on the grain's use: how much was to be sold or purchased and how much was to be used for baking, brewing, provender, seed, livery, and gruel. The sisters were also responsible for the maintenance and repair of their buildings.[102] The prioress could appoint and, if necessary, dismiss a brother as steward in agreement with the prior. The steward had an attendant and a riding horse and collected rents, aids, and amercements on the sisters' behalf.

Many of the rents to be collected came from ecclesiastical sources. The original grant for Buckland included three churches, with land and appurtenances, and a chapel.[103] The sisters could not manage the churches themselves but farmed them out to vicars in return for a fixed pension. Petherton was the principal church in the original grant. It had two subordinate churches, Chedzoy and Pawlett, and the chapels of Huntworth, Earl's Newton, King's Newton, Thurloxton, and Shurton. The prior of England was the official patron of these churches and appointed its vicars.[104]

In 1229, Pope Gregory IX responded to a complaint by the sisters of Buckland that the vicar of Petherton was taking too much of the church's earnings and thereby not leaving enough for the sisters' support.[105]

Accordingly, an inventory of the income of this vicarage was made, which indicated the large variety of sources of income. It consisted of various small sums, none amounting to more than four marks. The benefits consisted of oblations on Easter Day, the Assumption, and Christmas, the burials of the dead, and purification, requisitions, and confessions, which, together with offerings at Lent, totaled 14m. 60s. The income also included tithes of calves, lambs, wool, young pigs, geese, cheese, garlic and leeks, cider, herbage, foals, milk, pears, flax, wax and honey, meat, and the income from the mills and vicar's garden, which, together with the tithes from Earl's Newton, came to 15m. 3s. Furthermore, miscellaneous income came from the rental of the chapels, visitation of the sick, and masses for the dead and hay, and on the death of a tenant, the sisters received the second best animal of the deceased. The total income from churches amounted to £39 2s., of which the sisters were paid a fixed pension of 66s. 8d., or five marks.[106] The sisters' complaint about this low sum seems to have been in vain: at the end of the century, the vicarage was noted as owing them a smaller pension of only four marks. [107]

The outcome of the disagreements between the brothers and sisters at Buckland around 1270 was an arrangement in which the prior allowed the prioress of Buckland to have a steward, a servant to the steward, a secular priest, and the use of thirty-six oxen, twelve cows, and one bull, independently from the brothers. The steward was a brother who resided in the commandery of Buckland, but the commander had little say over his appointment. The steward's attendant stayed in the commandery, too, and ate with the commander's servants. Furthermore, the commander also had to provide for the meals of the secular priest employed to say mass for the souls of Fina, Buckland's first prioress, and the founders and benefactors of their sisters.[108]

When the sisters' economic well-being declined in the fourteenth century, the tensions between the sisters and the brothers in their charge resurfaced. In 1338, the brothers complained openly, but there was no effort to suppress the convent of sisters.[109] The same happened in Alguaire; the brothers welcomed a foundation of sisters but complained when this foundation became a financial burden. While great care was not always taken to make sure that foundations were sufficiently endowed, as had been the case for Beaulieu, it was common for the Hospital to specify a maximum number of sisters in order to avoid an overburdening of the available resources: Cervera was set at seven,[110] Alguaire at twenty,[111] Beaulieu at forty,[112] and Les Fieux at twelve.[113] Thirty sisters were suggested for Sigena, with the provision that it could receive more sisters if economically viable.[114] There is no reliable count in the thirteenth century, but allegedly in 1351 the convent counted more than thirty sisters.[115]

The priory at Buckland had a reported fifty sisters in 1338.[116] Therefore, some of these houses were exceptionally large compared to the average commandery. To put these numbers in perspective, the commandery at Buckland had six brothers at that time and was thereby the third largest commandery in England in 1338 after a house for sick and elderly brothers at Chippenham and the headquarters at Clerkenwell.

The Hospital guaranteed its sisters support in case of need, but this was envisioned only in case of emergency; in general, the Hospital expected the houses with sisters to contribute financially to the Hospital in general by pay "responsions" (an internal tax) just as houses with brothers did. The burden of these responsions seems not to have been excessive: Beaulieu was required to contribute twenty-one pounds of Tours,[117] Les Fieux half a mark,[118] and Penne six golden *denarii*.[119] Sigena was free to pay whatever the prioress considered appropriate.[120] The sisters at Alguaire, however, with some exceptions, were asked to give up one-tenth of their proceeds.[121] These responsions were often augmented by local collections, and the cartulary of Buckland mentions several collections being made at surrounding parishes on different days, with the main collection, not surprisingly, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist.[122]

Besides economic support, the brothers were to some extent responsible for the sisters' spiritual welfare. The spiritual welfare of a sister (or any member) reflected on the spiritual health of her community and the body, or *familia,* of the order in general of which she had become a member through profession. Providing spiritual care for each member was moral and vital for the body as a whole, and the task was preferably left upon Hospitaller priests.

The essential role the priest played becomes clear from Sigena's rule: he celebrated mass, he blessed the water and the salt, and he (or a deacon) read from the Gospel.[123] Without him, the liturgy could not be performed and sins would remain unabsolved. The foundation charter of Les Fieux stipulated that the priest serving the sister should be a Hospitaller brother,[124] and this seems to have been the norm, as Alguaire and Aconbury also had at least one resident Hospitaller priest.[125] The commandery at Buckland, as has been mentioned, provided a priest for the sisters in the adjoining house of sisters.[126] By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the sisters at Beaulieu also made confessions to traveling Franciscan priests.[127]

Despite the demands of female membership on the order and the occasional conflict between brothers and sisters, the Hospitallers recruited women and wanted to keep female membership. These women came

from all strata of medieval society except for the poorest and unfree. It is likely that there was also a number of sisters who were not noble and who entered the order with a minimum amount of money and perhaps their clothes and bed, but whose donation was not substantial enough to leave a trace in the records. Traditionally it was this group who nursed in hospitals, did laundry, fed the animals, and performed other menial tasks. They would have been the equivalent of the brother sergeants or the Cistercian *conversae* but did not have a distinct title among the Hospitaller sisters in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Ideally, however, the Hospitallers attracted women with possessions and connections and they had some success—some religious houses for sisters attracted women from royal or highly noble birth. We also find women of the highest nobility who acted as commendatrixes, became lay associates, or volunteered in one of the order's hospitals. The latter's support was temporary, like Infanta Sancha's work at the Hospitaller hospital in Acre in 1272,[128] and the women were not professed sisters, but their contribution was a success in terms of the order's effort to recruit noble support.[129] Most sisters, however, seem to have been from the lower aristocracy and therefore from the same social group as many of the brothers. They brought gifts worth recording and entered the records as sisters [*domine* or *sorores*] of houses of sisters at Buckland, Beaulieu, Sigena, and other houses and as lay sisters [*consorores* and donats] of the order. We should add to this group a number of women such as who came from the urban elites, such as Adelaide, who donated a number of houses in Arles to the order.[130]

Once an individual or a religious house made vows to uphold the rule of the Order of Saint John, they were expected never to forsake it. There were several instances of women wanting the leave the order and the order bringing suit to prevent them: there was the mother-in-law of knight P. who promised to go on pilgrimage but instead raised a militia to fight the order; Johanna, who argued that she was so stricken with grief that she did not know what she was doing when she made her vows; Clarice, who, according to her family, had stayed because she was scared that otherwise the devil would take her away; and Alicia, who had professed only because her husband had made her.[131] Furthermore, the Hospitallers were involved with litigation to prevent Aconbury to become independent.[132] These cases, and the fact that the order lied in order to obtain Saint Lazarus of Bethany, show that the Order of Saint John was quite committed to having female members.[133]

As sisters, women were integrated in the organizational structure of the order. Sometimes they became members of commanderies. The order also supported the foundations of houses specifically for women. The

heads of these houses were prioresses who answered to the local prior. Arrangements were made to provide the sisters with spiritual care by appointing hospitaller priests to female communities. Although female houses were expected be self-sufficient, the order promised help in times of need and often appointed brothers to help with the management of the estates. The main purpose of the female houses was to support the Hospitallers in the East with financial contributions and prayer. The canonical hours were central to the sisters' lives who lived in houses, like Aconbury or Sigena, that were convents of Augustinian canonesses devoted to the liturgy rather than ordinary Hospitaller commanderies. The sisters were not submitted to strict rules of enclosure and could, with permission, travel outside their convents.

CONCLUSION

"The purpose of this work is to retrieve the female Hospitallers from the oblivion into which they have fallen—compared to their much more famous brothers—and to retrace the essential steps of their history," wrote Joseph Delaville Le Roulx in 1894.[1] This study has done more than merely retrieve the sisters from oblivion: It has compared the Hospitaller sisters with women in other military orders and has placed them in the context of female monasticism. The application of gender analysis to the study of military orders as introduced in the previous pages has allowed an understanding of the military orders' attitudes toward women and has sharpened our understanding of the issues concerning women in religious life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two important new insights are the result. The first concerns the study of female monasticism: while generally speaking, women in religious life were gradually marginalized over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the study of the Order of Saint John shows that not all orders behaved similarly and that segregation did not automatically mean marginalization. The second insight concerns the study of the religious military orders: historians have categorized the military orders as one group, based on their involvement with military action. However, the military orders did not behave as one when it comes to their attitude toward female membership. A closer look reveals a subtle difference between military orders that based their rule on the Rule of Saint Augustine and those that, under influence of the Cistercians, grafted their rule onto the Benedictine rule.

Key to the understanding of the place of women in religious military orders, or indeed the place of women in any medieval religious order, is the issue of the *cura monialium,* the care of nuns. Because women, in twelfth- and thirteenth-century minds, could not do without the help of men, solutions had to be found to provide nuns, sisters, and other religious women with male assistance. Men often felt an obligation to care for nuns or wished to support female devotion, but at the same time, men were weary of the financial drain the care could become. Moreover, religious men and women were worried that interaction between the

two sexes may tempt them into breaking their vows of chastity. The dilemma *cura monialium* posed for men underscores the history of female monasticism.

Historians who have studied female monasticism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in detail largely agree that, while men enthusiastically supported religious women in the beginning of the twelfth century, their enthusiasm waned over the course of the century. By around 1180, the number of foundations of female monasteries had declined. Men had become more cautious in taking on the care of nuns, especially when female membership grew enough to be considered a threat. In the thirteenth century, there was another flurry of foundations, but the variety and vitality of female religious life had diminished. Women's foundations were denied, closed, or put at a safe distance. Furthermore, strict *clausura* was increasingly enforced, which limited nuns to their nunneries and thereby made it harder for the women to survive financially.

The Hospital or Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, a religious military order with several houses of fully professed sisters, has generally been kept out of the study of female monasticism. This is unfortunate because the order's approach toward female membership is informative for the history of monasticism in general. At first, the order seems to follow the general trend. It accepted women since early in its history (from at least 1111), when women attached themselves to its main hospital or depended on houses called commanderies. By the 1170s, there were enough women associated with the Hospital for the order to consider setting up a depended house for women only. The first house did not materialize, but not long after, houses for sisters were set up in England (Buckland), Bohemia (Manetin) and Spain (Sigena). One of the objectives of these houses was to bring together sisters who theretofore were dispersed over several commanderies. In doing this, the order followed a trend that favored the segregation of the sexes in religious houses.

However, despite the order's initial effort to bring its sisters under one roof, women continued to associate themselves with commanderies, sometimes even leading their communities. Also, commanderies continued to exist that consisted of brothers and sisters in more equal numbers (rather than just one or two women attached to a male commandery). The segregation therefore did not lead to an abolishment of mixed-sex communities. Furthermore, it did not lead to a marginalization of female membership—quite the contrary. Female membership grew, and some houses of Hospitaller sisters, in particular Sigena, became quite successful. While the history of women in the Order of Saint John is not without quarrels, the order never made a concerted effort to suppress its female membership.

The presence of women in male commanderies or the existence of mixed-sex congregations may seem out of place in a religious military order like Saint John. Mixed-sex communities were more common in medieval hospitals and hospices (the two were more or less interchangeable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Men and women supplemented each other in medieval hospitals in their task to care for the sick, the poor, and others in need. Their aim was to show love of God, imitating Christ not by retreating into a monastery but by performing acts of compassion in the world. In the beginning of the twelfth century, those serving in hospitals were often of the lower classes and only semireligious, but under papal reform, hospital congregations increasingly organized themselves under a religious rule.

The Hospital of Saint John had of course started as a hospital in Jerusalem, with brothers serving God by dedicating themselves to the care of the poor. But although the hospital created a huge support network in the West and its brothers took up arms, it did not forget its hospitaller roots: The order was commonly referred to as the Hospital of Saint John, and it was famous for the charitable works of its hospital in Jerusalem. Furthermore, other hospitals tried to imitate the institution, and its saints were famous for their charitable works, even if they had not performed charity. In short, the order's image was that of a charitable order, and as a charitable order, the presence of a female membership was not out of the ordinary.

The Order of Saint John's hospital in Jerusalem (and later in Acre) and its military efforts in the Latin East were expensive. The order financed its efforts with the proceeds of its estates, which were spread throughout Europe and the Latin East. Some of these estates also had hospitals, but most did not, and their main function was to manage the order's holdings rather than to provide charity in the West. The increasing cost of warfare and the absence of any specialized business made the order dependent on continuous support from devout Christians, who were willing to give money, land, or other possessions in order to save their souls. Women and men supported the order, and sometimes benefactors could have a considerable influence on the order.

In some cases, female (or male) supporters of the order wanted to be more than an occasional benefactor and chose to associate themselves in confraternity. This type of association in which women became lay sisters (also called half sisters) rather than fully professed sisters of the order came in many guises. Women could join a confraternity associated with the order or associate with the order individually. In some cases, women associated with the intention of becoming a full sister later, and the order would promise to take them in a manner that closely resembles

engagement to be married in its commitment to be united at a later time. The latter can be typified as a "donat relation." These different associations are hard to categorize because terminology and interpretation change over time and across regions, and the terms of association could be negotiated. Lay sisters were often still active within the world, and among them were women of considerable power and influence.

Corrodians were men and women who lived under the longtime care of a hospital or other religious organization for payment, and the Hospital of Saint John too had a number of corrodians under its care. They differed from patients in hospitals because corrodians received long-term support, were not necessarily sick or poor, and had paid to receive their care—often with a donation made at the moment their care started. They frequently lived in or near a commandery but sometimes remained in their own homes. I mention the corrodians because it is often difficult to distinguish a corrodian from a lay sister because in many cases the distinction is blurred or the function is merged in the sense that lay sisters could be promised care, housing, or meals for life. In principle, a corrodian did not join the order in a spiritual sense.

A significant number of women made their vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty and promised to live according to the rule of the order. They were fully professed sisters who joined the order for life as Hospitallers. Because lay sisters are often called "sisters" in the sources, it is sometimes difficult to make a distinction between the two categories, but it is quite clear that the Hospitallers had sisters among them before the first house for sisters was set up. The earliest examples include Adelis, who became a *soror* [sister] at Trinquetaille (France) in 1146 and Arsend, who became a *soror* at Cervera in 1168. *Sorores* were also present in the hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem as early as 1175.

The first attempt to set up a house for female Hospitallers was made in 1177, when the king of Aragon donated property to the order to set up "a house for ladies" at Grisén, Spain. The house did not materialize, but it seems that the intent had been to create a female commandery. The person who received the property was a female commander named Major of Aix, an aristocratic woman who was related to the highest commander of the order in the Iberian Peninsula. It is clear, however, that the crown and the order thought that there were enough sisters or women interested in becoming sisters to justify the establishment of a house of female Hospitallers.

The King of Aragon's wife, Sancha, was one of the witnesses for the foundation of Grisén. A few years later, she took the idea to set up a house for female Hospitallers but shaped the construction of its organization to suit her own needs. Harking back to the model of Augustinian canonesses,

she created a highly aristocratic house in which women devoted themselves to education and the Divine Office according to the Rule of Saint Augustine. They were not strictly cloistered and were asked travel to general meetings of the order. A small number of brothers were to serve the sisters' needs, and they were under the authority of the sisters' prioress. The house of female Hospitallers at Sigena thus provided the queen with a religious community in which she could be involved while still queen, which provided education for her daughters, which was composed of women close to her own stature, and which provided a mausoleum for her family. She retreated to Sigena as sister after her husband's death.

The idea of setting up houses for female Hospitallers appealed to the order, and it supported the establishment of several houses from the 1180s on. Usually, the foundation depended on the donation of a wealthy and influential donor, for example in the case of Buckland. In the case of the convent of Saint Lazarus of Bethany, the order tried to incorporate an existing house of nuns (by twisting the truth). Furthermore, the Hospitallers litigated to keep a house of sisters at Aconbury, England. In only one instance did the Hospitallers try (but fail) to rid themselves of a house, namely of Alguaire, which they considered a financial burden. The houses were all integrated in the order but varied in organization and did not have strong ties among them, except when located in close proximity of each other as in the case of Beaulieu, Martel, Curemont, and Les Fieux.

Why did the order establish houses for sisters? The Hospitallers themselves state the spiritual richness that the devotion of the sisters offered them and the desire to bring sisters who were dispersed among commanderies of a certain area under one roof. We can add to this the advantages to the order of accepting a large donation by a powerful donor. Except perhaps in the case of Buckland, the establishment of houses for sisters was a regional affair: local donors gave to regional priors who received sisters of well-to-do families who lived in the same region (say, Catalonia), and the decision to set up a house for sisters depended therefore on local circumstances.

Despite the order's effort to set up houses for sisters, the Hospitallers continued to receive sisters among brothers in commanderies. Some of these houses had hospitals attached to them. Considering that the Order of Saint John was a hospitaller order with extensive property in the West, it had a relatively small number of hospitals there. The purpose of the property in the West was to support its actions in the East, not to provide hospitaller care in the West. Nevertheless, a number of Hospitaller hospitals existed in the West, for example in Toulouse, France, in which brothers and sisters served.

In a few exceptional cases, sisters of the Order of Saint John, like sisters of the Order of Santiago and of the Order of the Temple, had leadership positions over brothers in the order as commanders [*commendatrix* or *preceptrix*] of one or more commanderies. Their position depended on their high statute by birth and their relationship with highly positioned brothers in the order. Furthermore, so far it seems that only sisters in Spain and southern France, that is, in areas where women in general had more power and independence, could reach this position. This was especially the case in Spain, where the lack of manpower offered women the opportunity to step in.

The efforts made by the Hospitallers in order to have and hold female membership were in stark contrast to the efforts made by the Cistercians in the thirteenth century to limit female membership. The lack of enclosure imposed upon Hospitaller sisters, too, makes the Hospitallers' attitude toward women seem positive compared to the attitude of the Cistercians. However, we must take care when judging the religious opportunities of medieval women. Many more women sought to join the Cistercian order than came to the Order of Saint John, and it was precisely because of its overwhelming popularity that the Cistercians tried to limit female membership. Women, such as the former Cistercian nuns at Mühlen in the early fourteenth century, did not necessarily appreciate the relaxed attitude of the Hospitallers. Instead, they, like men, often preferred to commit to a more demanding religious life in which they could prove their worth as Brides of Christ. In this way, a woman may see enclosure and remoteness as an opportunity rather than a marginalization. Efforts to exclude women, however, can be seen only as negative in the context of female monasticism.

The official policies regarding the admission of women differed widely among the military orders. The Templars decided to "no longer" accept women when they acquired their rule. The Teutonic order ruled that it would only accept half sisters because they were good at taking care of the sick and the animals. The Order of Calatrava decided to accept women who lived in nunneries that strongly resembled Cistercian convents and that were located at a safe distance from its commanderies. The Order of Santiago was most explicit in its rule regarding the acceptance of women: its members could be married, and women were therefore expected to be part of the order from its earliest beginnings. Notably, the Hospitallers' early regulation is silent on the topic of female membership. The Order of Alcántara, which did not accept professed sisters, is also silent on the subject of the admission of women.

The reality of female membership in military orders was often different from official policy. The Templars, despite their claim not to accept

any more sisters, continued to occasionally accepts women as sisters and lay sisters. Most evidence of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refers to lay sisters: *consores*, *donate,* et cetera, who joined as individuals (sometimes together with other family members) or who joined Templar confraternities. Some of these women promised obedience, poverty or chastity, or a combination of two of these (but not all three). There is evidence for at least 110 women who associated with the Temple, of which sixty-five were found on confraternity lists and twenty-one others also clearly had a lay association with the order.

Of the rest, four women seem to have been fully professed sisters (in 1175, 1178, 1196, and 1198), two of whom lived in a mixed-sex commandery under a female commander [*preceptrix*]. Two further women may have been sisters, but their status is less certain. Another twenty women (at most) were Cistercian nuns of a convent in Mühlen, which was incorporated into the order in 1260. Unfortunately, the records do not indicate why the Templars decided to take on a convent of Cistercian nuns. It seems therefore that before 1260 the Templars were open to accepting lay association by women but hesitated to accept women as fully professed sisters.

Evidence from the inquest taken at the dissolution of the Templars suggests that the order by the fourteenth century accepted women as sisters into a small number of commanderies. In this inquest, the Templars were accused of having compromised the chastity of their fully professed sisters. The presence of sisters in the order was not questioned. It must be noted, however, that both the accusation of rape and the reference to Templar sisters was very uncommon in the inquest and that, therefore, the acceptance of women in commanderies seems to have been an infrequent and local affair.

The Order of Calatrava was a Cistercian military order in the Iberian Peninsula that accepted fully professed sisters as Cistercian nuns, and their nunnery may have provided the Templars with a model. It began when a wealthy couple associated as donats, promising each to enter the order and live "conventualiter" in case the other passed away first. There was, however, no convent for women yet, so the couple asked permission to found a house for nuns of Calatrava at San Felices in 1219. The Cistercian general chapter agreed and gave a general permission for female houses of Calatrava in which women would live like Cistercian nuns, at a safe distance of Calatrava's commanderies. Calatrava acquired a second house for women in 1268 through the incorporation of an existing Cistercian nunnery. The foundation of San Felices and foundation of Hospitaller Sigena were both the result of a woman's desire to create a religious life for herself in a military order. But while Hospitaller sisters had a number

of other options, the sisters of Calatrava could only become Cistercian nuns, segregated and enclosed. The acceptance of female houses into the order Calatrava was a conscious, centralized decision as a solution to the "problem" of a woman wanting to live in a Calatrava house. It allowed women to become Calatravan, but limited their involvement.

The Order of Santiago, like the Order of Calatrava, was a Spanish military order that had begun as a confraternity. However, while Calatrava was connected with the Cistercian order, Santiago was closely tied to the canons of Santiago. Calatrava took on a modified Cistercian rule, while Santiago adopted a modified Augustinian rule. Women who wanted to join Calatrava joined their Cistercian nunneries. Women who wanted to become members of the Order of Santiago, however, could either remain married and stay at home or join one of the mixed or female houses of Santiago. The stipulation that the members of Santiago could fulfill the vow of chastity through conjugal chastity was unique and indicated that, from its inception, the Order of Santiago expected women to be part of the order. Over time, women who were not related to brothers of the order were more restricted and could not remain at home, but there was no effort made to limit female membership.

The Teutonic knights had their own unique approach to women. Being conscious of the fact that it was an order that combined the dual task of welfare and warfare, it decided to follow the Hospitallers in matters of hospitaller care and the Templars in matters of military endeavor. With regard to women, the order decided not to accept fully professed sisters because the presence of women was not conducive to the religious and military spirit of men. However, they recognized that women were needed in all types of care (hospitaller care and husbandry), so they resolved in 1264 to accept lay sisters as "half sisters," who nevertheless needed to be chaste, obedient, and without private property. Several women, often married and sometimes of high birth, made individual arrangements on a local level, and several mixed-sex Teutonic houses existed before and after 1264. By the end of the thirteenth century, houses for fully professed sisters also existed. In other words, the order recognized the need of women (from both a financial and a practical point of view) and required them to make full vows, but it was slow to recognize them as full sisters.

The Order of Saint Lazarus managed a (male) leper hospital in Jerusalem and took on a military role, much like the Hospitallers. Yet at first it was closely tied to the Templar rather than the Hospitaller order—it took Templar advice in setting up its statutes sometime after 1154 and accepted Templar knights in case they had contracted leprosy. By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, its character had changed.

Many of the knights were now healthy, and the order adopted the Rule of Saint Augustine in 1256. Lazarite sisters in mixed-sex communities first appear in records of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The first houses for sisters came about in the early fourteenth century. The remaining evidence for the Order of Saint Lazarus is very limited, but it suggests that women played a larger role in the order after the second half of the thirteenth century, when the Lazarite order followed the example of the Hospitallers rather than that of the Templars.

It is clear from this overview that the military orders, while grouped into one category based on their military involvement as religious orders, hardly belong in only one category when judged on their approach to female membership. Some orders, namely the Templars, Calatrava and Alcántara, hesitated to fully accept women into their order. These three orders based their rule on the Rule of Saint Benedict and were strongly influenced by the Cistercians. Other orders, in particular the Hospitallers and Santiago, were quite open to having female membership. These orders followed a modified Augustinian rule. The Order of Saint Lazarus did not accept women in its early years when it was still very much a hospitaller order associated with the Templars, accepting leprous Templar brothers into its ranks. The Lazarites only accepted women in the second half of the thirteenth century, by which time it had changed into a religious military order of mostly healthy brothers who followed a modified Augustinian rule. It was therefore not an order's function, but its core spirituality that influenced its attitude toward having female membership.

NOTES

Preface

1. "[D]esiderio vos videre et cum vobis habitare ad fruendum et tranquilitate et pace qua frustis, nam hic non audimus nisi latrite canum . . ." *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 18. The authenticity of Sancha's letters has been questioned, but there is no conclusive evidence as to whether or not they are genuine. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: its Early Stages. 1188–c. 1210," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 124 [113–41].
2. "[E]tiam mitto illum sarracenum pro construccione molendini, habet ad hoc prout dicunt habilitatem magnam, curate illum construere et edificare prout asignatum est." *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 10; Karl F. Schuler, "The Pictorial Program of the Chapter House of Sigena," (PhD diss., New York University, 1995), p. 6.
3. See for a detailed description and discussion of Sigena Jacques Gardelles, "Le prieuré de Sigena aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Étude architecturale," *Bulletin Monumental* 133.1 (1975): 15–28.
4. Sister Solgracia of the Order of Bethlehem at Sigena, in private conversation.
5. Known as the Madonna del Coro because it used to be kept in the choir. The motif of a statue of the Virgin found in a swamp occurs in several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century legends. Schuler, "Pictorial Program," p. 16; Juan-Manuel Palacios Sánchez, *El Real Monasterio de Sijena: Introducción a la historia del monasterio* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1980), pp. 10–1; Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *El Real Monasterio de Sigena, 1188–1300* (Valencia: Anubar, 1966), p. 16.
6. Mildred Stapley Byne, *The Forgotten Shrines of Spain* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926), p. 263.
7. Byne, *Forgotten Shrines,* pp. 263–64. For a different version, see Marco Antonio Varón, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sixena*, 2 vols. (Pamplona: Pasqual Ibañez, 1773), 1:12–30.

Introduction

1. "Quoniam iustis petitionibus domus nostra semper assentire consuevit et maxime horum qui propenciori et ferventiori affectu et efectu eam amplenctuntur et promovent, nos et universa fratrum nostrorum societas religiose vestre peticioni consentimus, licet enim iste novus modus et sororibus nostris inconsuetus vivendi a nobis per nos institui petatur quia de habundanti religionis fonte procedit et vos metipsa sub eadem districtionis regula Deo cooperante vivere proponitis, laudabile vestrum propositum confirmamus et approbamus." A thirteenth-century copy of the Rule of Sigena has been preserved in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, Huesca, Spain (Hereafter cited as AHPH), Armario de Sigena, legajo no. 1. The original seems to have been lost. An edition has been published in the *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 1:no. 859; and in *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 8. "La regla del monestir de Santa María Sixena," ed. Antoni Durán Gudiol, *Monastica* 1 (1960): 135–91 is the most reliable edition.
2. Alan Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Studia Monastica* 29.1 (1987): 68–69, 77, 91 [63–92].
3. *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset,* ed. and trans. Frederic W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society 25 (London: Harisson and Sons, 1909).
4. There is very little evidence for female Hospitallers in "Alemania" before 1300.

1 Female Monasticism

1. "Sane quaniam sine solatio virili parum proficit sollicitudo feminae . . ." *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Raymonde Foreville and trans. Gillian Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 36, 37.
2. Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 71.
3. James W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), pp. 127–49.
4. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. xxxiv–xxxv, 265.
5. Valerie L. Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 113–15.
6. Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 246. Heloise, however, makes a different case for female superiority. According to her, the female body was at an advantage because its humid and porous nature absorbed less food and alcohol, with the result that women were less

likely to fall into gluttony or drunkenness. *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise,* trans. Betty Radice, revised edn. (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 166.

7. Johnson, *Equal*, pp. 233–34 gives several examples.
8. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 36, 37.
9. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, p. 160.
10. Heloise was extraordinarily smart, and it is quite possible that she used conventional wisdom for her own purposes, but her arguments were built on conventional wisdom just the same.
11. Johnson, *Equal*, p. 260; Jean Leclercq, "Medieval Feminine Monasticism: Reality versus Romantic Images," in *Benedictus: Studies in Honor of St. Benedict of Nursia,* ed. Roxane Elder (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981), p. 61; *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. Joseph Marie Canivez and A. Trilhe, 8 vols., Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire écclésiastique, fasc. 9 (Louvain: Bureau de la Revue, 1933–41), 2:248; *Corpus iuris canonici,* ed. Aemelius L. Richter and Emil A. Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879–1881), 1. vi, t. iii, c. 16.
12. Constable, *Reformation*, p. 6.
13. "Above all, we want you to decide what we ought to do about reading the Gospel in the Night Office. It seems to us hazardous if priests and deacons, who should perform the reading, are allowed among us at such hours, when we should be especially segregated from the approach and sight of men in order to devote ourselves more sincerely to God and to be safer from temptation." *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 178.
14. "Les Statuts de Jully," in *Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits,* ed. Jean Leclercq (Rome: Curiam Generalem Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1953), pp. 192–94.
15. *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 219; Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis libri duo,* ed. Denise Bouthillier, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988) part 1, p. 22; Translation in *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents*, trans. Vera Morgan (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 104. Bernard encouraged enclosure at Jully. *Histoire du prieuré de Jully-les-Nonnais, avec pièces justificatives*, ed. Jean Baptiste Jobin (Paris: Bray et Retaux, 1881), nos. 3–10. See for strict enclosure and its effects in the period 500 to 1100, Jane T. Schulenburg, "Strict Active Enclosure and Its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (ca. 500–1100)," in *Medieval Religious Women.* Vol. 1, *Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lilian T. Shank (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 51–86.
16. Eleanor became a Fontevrist *conversa,* and Constance a Hospitaller *consoror.*
17. Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights. Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 6.
18. Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 68; François Petit, *Norbert et l'origine des Prémontrés* (Paris: Cerf, 1981), pp. 135–39.

19. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 69, and in detail in Th. M. van Schijndel, "De premontratenzer koorzusters: Van dubbelkloosters naar autonome konventen," in *Gedenkboek Orde van Premontré, 1121–1971,* ed. Koenraad E. Stappers (Averbode: Altiora, 1971), pp. 163–77.
20. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 70.
21. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 164, n. 114.
22. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 164.
23. *Statuta capitulorum,* ed. Canivez, 2:68 (1228).
24. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 30, 31. For a study of the Gilbertine order, see Brian, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130–c.1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); and for a study of its liturgy, Janet T. Sorrentino, "Choice Words: The Liturgy of the Order of Sempringham" (PhD diss.; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999).
25. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 32, 33.
26. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 32, 33.
27. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 34, 35.
28. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 36, 37.
29. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, p. xxviii.
30. According to *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 42, 43, the Cistercians declined because Gilbert's houses were of nuns: "Dominus autem papa et abbates Cistercie dixerunt sui ordinis monachos aliorum religioni, et presertim monialium, non licere preesse: et sic quod optauit non optinuit . . . "
31. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 44, 45.
32. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 46, 47.
33. Aelred's story is printed as Aelred of Rielvaux, "De Sanctimoniali de Wattun," in *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores*, vol. 10, ed. Roger Twysden (London: Jacob Flesher, 1652); repr. in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Series latina (Paris, 1855), 195:cols. 0789C–0796D; and trans. O. Gutman under the title "The Nun of Watton" in *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Carolyne Larrington (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 128–33. For analysis, see Giles Constable, "Aelred of Rievaux and the Nun of Watton: An Episode in the Early History of the Gilbertine Order," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 205–26. (With suggestions to improvement of Twysden's edition in n. 1); Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 33–38; and Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 106–11.
34. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 42, 43; Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 84. Whether the assembly was a general chapter is a different matter. Constance H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 146. Apparently the Cistercian order changed its mind in 1186 when it accepted the Order of Calatrava into the order as an affiliate of Morimond.

35. *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Foreville and Keir, pp. 42, 43. Cf. Berman, *Evolution,* pp. 142–48.
36. Richard Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 250, 317, 320; Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism,* trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 91–92.
37. Southern, *Western Society*, p. 313.
38. "Cum femina semper esse et non cognoscere feminam nonne plus est quam mortuum suscitare?" Bernard of Clairvaux, "Sermones in cantica canticorum: Sermo LXV," *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Series latina (Paris, 1854), 183:col. 1091B; Southern, *Western Society,* pp. 314–15.
39. Berman, *Evolution,* pp. 96, 286 n. 8; Jean Leclercq, *Women and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux,* trans. Marie-Bernard Saïd (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989), p. 61.
40. Sally Thompson, "The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker and Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 227–52; Berman, *Evolution,* pp. 39–45. The assertion that that there were no female Cistercians in 1147 necessarily needs to be revised if we accept that the *Vita* reflected the attitudes of 1202 rather than 1147.
41. Ernest Zaragoza Pascual, *Catàleg dels monestirs catalans* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), organized by place name.
42. Javier Perez-Embib Wamba, *El Císter en Castilla y León: Monacato y dominios rurales, siglos XII–XV* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986), p. 271; Vincente-Angel Alvarez Pelenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla, siglos XII–XIII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1978), pp. 82, 140–43.
43. Perez-Embib Wamba, *El Cister en Castilla y León,* p. 271; Alvarez Pelenzuela, *Monasterios Cistercienses en Castilla,* p. 92.
44. *Documentos de Casbas,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1966), no. 3.
45. *Documentación del monasterio de las Huelgas de Burgos*, ed. José Manuel Lizoaín Garrido and Araceli Castro Garrido, Fuentes medievales catellano-leonesas 30 (Burgos: Garrido Garrido, 1983), no. 11.
46. Berman, *Evolution*, p. 233. In the Cistercian order, the increase of women and anxiety happened at the same time that the order became more organized and the general chapter became powerful enough to restrict female participation.
47. *La règle de Saint Augustin*, ed. Luc Verheijen (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), 1:11–14, 439–41; George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 65–69.
48. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 35–40.

49. Benedict of Nursia, "Regula, cum commentariis," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Series latina, (Paris, 1866), 66:col. 0215D; this translation is by Leonard J. Doyle, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), p. 13.
50. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo,* p. 74 (Latin), p. 75 (English).
51. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother,* pp. 53–58.
52. Alexis Grélois, "Les chanoines réguliers et la conversion des femmes au XIIe siècle," in *Les chanoines réguliers. Émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles),* ed. Michel Parisse (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 233–63; Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 177–79.
53. The Second Lateran Council decreed in 1139 that "Ad haec perniciosam et detestabilem consuetudinem quarumdam mulierum, quae licet neque secundum regulam B. Benedicti, neque Basilii, aut Augustini vivant, sanctimoniales tamen vulgo censeri desiderant, aboleri decernimus. Cum enim juxta regulam degentes in coenobiis tam in ecclesia quam in refectorio atque dormitorio communiter esse debeant, propria sibi aedificant receptacula et privata domicilia, in quibus sub hospitalitatis velamine passim hospites et minus religiosos, contra sacros canones et bonos mores suscipere nullatenus erubescunt. Quia ergo omnis qui male agit odit lucem ac per hoc ipsae absconditae injustorum tabernaculo opinantur se posse latere oculos Judicis cuncta cernentis, hoc tam inhonestum detestandumque flagitium ne ulterius fiat, omnimodis prohibemus, et sub poena anathematis interdicimus." *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), p. 548 (canon 26), p. 211 (translation). The Church's concern was repeated at the Council of Rheims in 1148 with the provision that the women should choose between the Rules of Saint Augustine and Saint Benedict. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, p. 223.
54. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, pp. 221–25.
55. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 7.
56. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* pp. 45–177.
57. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 222.
58. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, hospitals and hospices and other shelters were hard to distinguish because they often provided the same services. Here we will collectively call them hospitals, but without forgetting the limits of medieval medical care. Hospitals were different from infirmaries not so much for the services provided but rather in the fact that hospitals served the public while infirmaries were set up to private (religious) communities.
59. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 222.
60. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 117.
61. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 115; Elena Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy, 1142–c. 1330* (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 68–73.

62. "Domini nostri pauperes." James W. Brodman, "Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders," *The Catholic Historical Review* 87.3 (2001): 386 [383–400]; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 1:no. 70; *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars,* trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), nos. 4, 8. *La règle du Temple,* ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1886), nos. 4, 8.
63. The Order of Saint Thomas was an English organization in Acre of Augustinian Canons devoted to the care of the poor and the ransoming of captives. It was reformed as a military order in the late 1220s. Alan Forey, "St. Thomas of Acre," *English Historical Review* 9 (1977): 481–503. The very limited number of surviving documents do not indicate presence of female members.
64. Elkins, *Holy Women,* pp. 117–24; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 135.
65. Penny Shine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 80.
66. Gold, *Lady and the Virgin*, p. 80*;* Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion,* trans. Ephraim Fischoff (Boston, 1922; repr. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), p. 104.
67. Gold, *Lady and the Virgin*, p. 81.
68. Gold, *Lady and the Virgin*, p. 81.
69. Elkins, *Holy Women*, p. 162.
70. Elkins, *Holy Women*, p. 164.
71. Johnson, *Equal,* pp. 251, 264.
72. Johnson, *Equal*, pp. 248–66.
73. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism,* p. 8.
74. Johnson, *Equal,* pp. 251, 253.
75. Johnson, *Equal,* p. 252.
76. Johnson, *Equal,* p. 252; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism,* p. 170.
77. McNamara's findings echo Grundmann's and Southern's remarks on pressures on men to provide *cura monialium* in the twelfth century.
78. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, p. 317.
79. Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and its Commentators, 1298–1500* (Washington DC: Catholic University Press, 1997), p. 2.
80. Johnson, *Equal*, p. 252.

2 Women in Military Orders

1. The Order of Alcántara followed the Cistercian rule and was at one time affiliated with the Order of Calatrava, but its early history is obscure. It does not seem to have accepted fully professed sisters but did allow the lay association of at least five women. Doña Maria Querasa became "familiar

y freyla" of the order in 1238. María Ibáñez, Elivira Fernandez, Marina, and María Yáñez were married when they associated with the order as *familiares.* Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Foundation of the Order of Alcántara, 1176–1218," *The Catholic Historical Review* 47.4 (1962): 471–86. Alonson Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la orden de Alcantara*, 2 vols. (Madrid: G. Ramirez, 1763), 1:292. Torres y Tapia, *Crónica,* 1:278, 292.

2. . "Perillouse chose est compaignie de feme, que le deable ancien par compaignie de feme a degeté pluisors dou droit sentier de paradis. Dames por serors de ci en avant ne soitent receues en la maison dou Temple; por ices, très chiers freres, de ci en avant ne covient acostumer ceste usance, que flor de chasteé tous tens aparisse entre vos." A latin version states, "Ut amplius sorores non coadeunt.—Sorores quidem amplius pericolosum est coadunare, quia antiquus hostis femineo consorcio complures expulit a recto tramite Paradisi. Ideoque fratres rarissimi ut integritatis flos inter vos semper appareat hac consuetudine a modo uti non liceat." *La règle du Temple,* ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1886), p. 69, cap. 70. Translated into English in *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar,* trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 36, cap. 70.
3. "[C]atholice ecclesie defensores et inimicorum Christi impugnatores," by Pope Alexander III in his bull, *Omne Datum Optimum* (1163). *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. Rudolf Hiestand, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1972–1984), 3: 96.
4. "Nos creons estre perillouse chose a toute religion trop esgarder face de feme. Et por ce nul de vos presume basier de feme, ne veve, ni pucele, ne mere, ni seror, ne ante, ne nule autre feme; et adonques la chevalerie de Jhesu Crist doit fuir en totes manieres baisier de femes, par quoi les homes soloient maintes fois perillier, que il puissent converser et maindre perpetuelment o pure conscience et o seure vie devant la face de Dieu." And, "Ut omnium mulierum fugant oscula.—periculosum esse credimus omni religioni vultum mulierum nimis attendere, et ideo nec viduam, nec virginem, nec matrem, nec sororem, nec amitam, nec ullam aliam feminam alquis frater osculari presumat. Fugiat ergo feminaea oscula Christi milicia, per que solent homines sepius periclitari, ut pura conscientia et secura vita in conspectu Domini perhenniter valeat conversari." *Règle du Temple,* pp. 69–70, cap. 71. The English translation can be found in *Rule of the Templars*, p. 36, cap. 71.
5. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae," in *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, vol. 3 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), pp. 206–39; Bernard of Clairvaux, "In Praise of the New Knighthood," in *Treatises III, The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 7, trans. Conrad Greenia, Cistercian Fathers Series 19 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), pp. 127–67.
6. Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 15.

7. *Règle du Temple*, pp. 16–18, cap. 6.
8. "Obsecramus per sanguinem illum qui pro animabus fusus est, ne tanti emptarum parvi pendatur periculum, quod maxime ex virorum et feminarum cohabitatione non immerito timetur ab his, qui in scola Dei diu iam contra diaboli tentamenta luctati, propria experientia edocti dicere possunt cum Apostolo: non enim ignoramus astutias eius. Denique quam non negligenter te oporteat audire non meum, sed ipsius Apostoli de hac re consilium, immo praeceptum aperte clamantis: fugite fornicationem, ipsius nunc tam turpiter lapsi fratris, super quo et nostram dignatus es consulere parvitatem, te doceat experimentum." In the same letter, Bernard expresses his concern regarding (Premonstratensian) lay brothers mingling with women at a mill and suggests that either the women are prohibited from coming to the mill, the mill is managed by men from outside, or that the mill is abondoned all together. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Epistula LXXIX: Ad abbatem Lucam," in *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, vol. 7 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), pp. 210–12; "Quod in ordine nostro foeminarum cohabitatio interdicta sit. Remota omni occasione sive nutrimentorum augendorum vel conservandorum sive rerum monasterii quarumlibet, ut quando necesse est, lavandarum sive denique cujuscumque necessitatis feminarum cohabitatio nobis et conversis nostris omnino interdicta est." "Exordium Cistercii, Summa Cartae Caritatis et capitula," in *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux,* ed. Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean Baptiste van Damme, Citeaux-commentarii Cistercienses: Studia et documenta 2 (Achel: Abbaye Cistercienne, 1974), p. 123, n. 17.
9. They probably associated with the Templars in Douzens, Languedoc, but this is not certain. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150*, ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris : Champion, 1913), no. 18. *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens,* ed. Pierre Gérard, Elisabeth Magnou, and Philippe Wolff (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1965), C, no. 11.
10. "Ego Poncia Raina femina et filia mea Guarsendis nos omnes . . . Nosmetipsas et omnem honorem nostrum quem habemus in villa de Dozencs et in suis terminiis. . . . [E]t post obitum nostrum, si de filia mea Guarsen infans legitimus non remanserint [for remanserit] totus iste suprascriptus honor ad vos remaneat et revertatur; si vero de me Garsen infans legitimus superfuerit, sit vester homo et habeat et teneat istum honorem et faciat suprascriptum usaticum," *Cartulaires des Templiers,* A, no. 10.
11. Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne: Avec des documents inédits et des pièces justicatives*, 9 vols. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1885–1905), 2:393–94.
12. "[S]ic donamus predictos III. homines nostra bona voluntate propter nostram animam et matris nostre et animas omni fidelium defunctorum . . . in tali convenu quod domna Romana mater nostra sit accepta ad sororem eiusdem Milicie et fratres Milicie habeant prefatos homines solutos et liberos per omne tempus ad proprium alodium predicte Milicie in perpetuum." Joaquín Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech*

de noves y documents històrichs. (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), p. 222.

13. Alan Forey, "Women and Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 46, n. 14 [43–69]; Madrid, AHN, Órdenes Militares, Castellanía de Amposta, leg. 38, no. 21.
14. Jochen Schenk, "Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple," *Journal of Medieval History* 34.1 (2008): 84 [79–103].
15. Augustín Ubieto Arteta, "Cofrades Aragoneses y Navarros del Temple (siglo XII): Aspectos socio-económicos," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 3 (1980): 36, 38 [29–93].
16. The Templar confraternity lists are edited by Ubieto Arteta, "Cofrades," 53–84.
17. "[A]d servicium Dei faciendum subtus obedienciam de ipso magistro qui ibidem est et in antea venturus est, sine ulla proprietate." *Cartulaire général du Temple*, no. 68.
18. "[P]ropter quod Dominus meus fuit dignatus esse pauper per me: sicuti ille fuit pauper per me, sic volo esse paupercula per illum." *Cartulaire général du Temple*, no. 68.
19. "[P]ropria reliquere et societatem [fratrum] suscipere decrevat." Forey, "Women," in *Hospitaller Women*, pp. 45–46.
20. "[C]orpus meum deo militaturum et animam meam per oblationem ut hostiam vivam deo placentem sub obediencia et regula domini dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti et domus milicie Templi salomonis suorumque fratruum." Forey, "Women," in *Hospitaller Women,* p. 46; ACA, cancillería real, pergaminos de Alfonso I [II], no. 383.
21. "[I]n presencia officialium nostrorum castitatem servare promisit et ut ipse Regule Templi subdat ultimo promisit." *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. Beatrice A. Lees, British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 9 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935; repr. Munich: Kraus Reprint, 1981), p. 210, no. 5 (Wiltshire Charters).
22. "[D]omine Ermengardi de Uluya, sorori Milicie Templi et in illo tempore preceptrix domus Rourel." Francesco Tommasi, "Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta: Per il problema delle case doppie e miste negli ordini giovannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, ed. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1992), Appendix, p. 201 [177–202].
23. "In Chrispti [*sic*] nomine sit notum cunctis quod ego Titborgis qui fui filia Berengarii de Sancta Columba reddo me ipsam in sororem religioni ad ordinem domus milicie templi et dono et trado in remissionem peccatorum meorum et parentum meorum domino Deo et domui milicie templi

et fratri Pons Menescalco Magistro in Provincia et in partibus Ispanie et fratri B. de Clareto et fratri Petro de Acuta et aliis fratribus . . . dominicaturam et honorem de Casela que patris meis tenuit, sicut afrontat de una parte in termino de Ulivela, de alia in termino de Regale et de alia in termino de Olers et de alia in termino de Apiera . . . in perpetuum per alodium franchum et liberum ad omnes vestras vestrorumque voluntates . . . Et adhuc ego Titborgis dono in remissionem peccatorum meorum . . . omnia mea directa ubicumque fuerint tocius honoris mei patris que michi modo pertinent et adhuc debere pertinere. Actum est hoc kalendas januarii anno ab incarnacione Domini MCXCVI." "Firmes de Titborgs y de sa Germana Dolça, de Gombau d'Oluja, Berenger de Montblanch y Pere de Toló," Miret i Sans, *Cases*, p. 222; ACA, arm. 23, pergs. 83, 246; Tommasi, "Uomini," in *Doppelklöster*, p. 196, n. 79; Helen Nicholson, "Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies," in *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux histoques et scientifiques, 2002), p. 130 [125–34].

24. The same document speaks of Ermengarda and the other brothers of the house, obscuring again the presence of a sister by using "brothers" as a term encompassing both sexes.
25. Tommasi, "Uomini," *Doppelklöster,* p. 200; Ernest Zaragoza Pascual, *Catàleg dels monestirs catalans* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), p. 197; Josep María Sans i Travé, "El Rourell, una preceptoria del Temple al Camp de Tarragona (1162?–1248)," *Boletin arqueológico* 4.133–140 (1976–77): 133–201; Josep María Sans i Travé, *Els Templers catalans: De la rosa a la creu* (Lleida: Pagels Editors, 1996), pp. 279–84; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 248.
26. "[Q]uod ego Proenza . . . dono corpus meum et animam domino Deo et venerabili domui Milicie Templi in manu fratris G. de sancto Pastore preceptoris Dertuse (Tortosa) et aliorum fratrum in conversam et donatam in vita et in morte; ita scilicet quod sim bona fidelis atque legalis in omnibus predicte domui dum vixero et sim bona et obediens circa comodum predicto domum ut donata et conversa debet esse. Et bona et firma stipulacionem convenio singulis annis dum vixero dare domino Deo et vobis predicto fratri G . . . annuatim in festo Pentacostes unam libram cere sine enganno in recognicione mee donationis . . . " Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 222; ACA, arm. 4, no. 26.
27. Schenk, "Forms of Lay Association," 94.
28. Schenk, "Forms of Lay Association," 94.
29. Auguste Pétel, *La Maison de Villers-les-Verrières* (Troyes: Paul Nouel, 1905), p. 374.
30. Paris, BnF nouvelles acquisitions latines 1–71, Marquis d'Albon, "Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple (1150–1317)," 54:213–14. I thank Jochen Schenk for this and several other references to female associates of the Order of the Temple.

31. Joseph-Antoine Durbec, *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Provence et dans les Alpes-Maritimes* (Grenoble: Le Mercure Dauphinois, 2001), p. 194.
32. "[D]omicella Sycilla de Soigneio relicta Thome de Sancto Germano, domicella Margareta et domicella Ysabellis ejusdem domicelle filie . . . predicte mulieres supplicaverunt coram nobis et preceptori ut easdem reciperet in sorores confrarie fratrum domus predicte." Edouard de Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien de Chalons-sur-Marne; Histoire et monuments suivi des cartulaires inédits de la commanderie de la Neuville-au-Temple, des abbeyes de Toussaints, de Monstiers et du prieuré de Vinetz,* 2 vols. (Paris: A. Aubry, 1861), 1:no. 134.
33. Paris, AnF, Ordre de Malte, S5210, no. 55.
34. Barcelona, ACA, Pergaminos de Jaime I, nos. 716, 1143, 1282; Forey, "Women," in *Hospitaller Women,* p. 46.
35. Schenk, "Forms of Lay Association," 98.
36. "[C]onsororis nostrae . . . manentis in domo nostro in Gandavo." Nicholson, "Women," in *Commanderie,* p. 130.
37. "1324, Januar 13. No. 344 Achiepiscopo Maguntino. Significavit pontifici Albertus de Nigrocastro, prior hospitalis st. Johannis Hierosolymitani in Alemannia, quod sorores domus dictae de Molin (?) quondam ordinis Templi Wormacensis dioc. post sublationem ordinis Templi, quamquam domus et bona eiusdem ordinis in illis partibus consistentia in hospitale st. Joh. Hierosol. per sedem apost. sint translata et eidem hospitali concessa, ordinem hospitalis eiusdem profiteri recusant. Quam ob rem ei mandat pontifex, quatenus, si est ita, sorores ad profitendam regulam hospitalis inducat aut compellat. Dat. Avin. Id. Jan. anno 8." *Vatikanische Akten zur deutschen Geschichte in der Zeit Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern,* ed. Sigmund von Riezler (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1891), pp. 171–72, no. 344,; Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson, "Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 26 [1–42].
38. "Item, li maistres qui fesoient freres et suers du Temple, aus dites suers fesoient promestre obediencie, chastée, vivre sans propre, et li dit maistre leur prometoient foi et loiauté, come à leur suers. Item, quant les dites suers estoient entrees, li dit maistre les despouceloient; et autres suers qui estoient de bon age, qui pensoient estre venues en la religion pour leur ames sauver, il convenoit par force que li maistre en feissent leurs volentez, et en avoient enfans les dites suers; et li dit maistre de leur enfans fesoient freres de la religion." *Procès des templiers*, ed. Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841–51), 1:38. The translation can be found in *The Templars: Selected Sources,* ed. and trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 291.
39. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 1," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 15 (1959): 170–93 [161–93].
40. O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 1," 183.

41. O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 1," 186. For a detailed debate see, Bernd Schwenk*, Calatrava: Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992), pp. 77–102.
42. "Quod autem humiliter postulastis suscipi vos videlicet in communionem beneficiorum Ordinis nostri, non ut familiares sed ut vere fratres, gratanter annuimus. Quod consequenter vivendi formam praescribi vobis auctoritate nostra exigitis, nos communi capituli consilio id venerabili fratri abbati Scalae Dei cum filiis suis vicinis vestris imponendum duximus, qui patriae morem plenius norunt et sudores ac discrimina vestra quo proprius sic liquidius intueri possunt," *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, ed. Ignacio José Ortega y Cotes, J. F. Alvarez de Baquedano, and P. de Ortega Zúñiga y Aranda (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1761), pp. 3–4; O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 1," 188.
43. O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 1," 190.
44. "[M]embrum nobile et speciale ordinis Cisterciensis," *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786,* ed. Joseph Marie Canivez and A. Trilhe, 8 vols. Revue d'Histoire Écclésiastique, fasc. 9 (Louvain: Bureau de la Revue, 1933–1941), 2:no. 33. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 3," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 16 (1960): 287 [255–92].
45. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 2," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 16 (1960): 3 [3–59].
46. *Bullarium de Calatrava*, pp. 47–49; O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43.
47. San Felices de Amaya is also refered to as San Felices los Barrios.
48. *Annales Cistercienses,* ed. Angel Manrique, 4 vols. (Lyon, 1642–1649; repr. Gregg Publishing, 1970), 4:170; O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43, n. 5.
49. "Conceditur fratribus de Calatrava quod quandocumque gratiam et libertatem in Curia romana potuerint impetrare, impetrent et habeant, dummodo non sit contra Ordinis nostri libertatem. Iterum conceditur eis moniales dispersas in unum congregare, et includere in loco competenti et distanti a Calatrava per duas aut tres dietas. Quomodo autem idem fratres se debeant habere in abbatiis Ordinis nostri, sicut ab olim statutum est, ita per omnes abbatias scribatur et teneatur," *Statuta capitulorum*, 2:no. 21. According to the *Annales Cistercienses,* 4:171, the convent began with a community of an abbess and five nuns.
50. *Statuta capitulorum*, 2:no. 21; O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43.
51. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en el Edad Media (siglos XII–XV)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), p. 178
52. O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43, n. 5.
53. "Conceditur abbati Morimundi ut possit facere visitare filias Calatraviae per priorem de Calatravia, quoties et quamdiu viderit expedire, abbate etiam aliquo non vocatio; et quando visitat teneat primum locum. Abbatissa Sancti Felicis, filia Calatraviae, inter abbatissas Ordinis honeste

tanquam abbatissa recipiatur, et quamdiu inter eas fuerit in victu et alliis se conformet eisdem." *Statuta capitulorum*, 2:nos. 13, 14.

54. O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43.
55. Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), pp. 61–62; María Echániz Sans, *Las mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la Edad Media* (Salamanca: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1992), pp. 37–43.
56. "Aqui se compieçan los establimientos de la orden de la caualeria de Sancti Iacobi que toda es tres cosas esta, auedes a saber en coniugal castidad, en obediencia guadar, en ueuir sin proprio," Derek W. Lomax, *La orden de Santiago, 1170–1275* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1965), Appéndice de Documentos, no. 1, cap. 1.
57. "[A]b illis mulieribus que viros non habuerint, queratur si maritos velint accipere. Volentibus liceat nubere. Nolentes locabuntur locis aptis et monasteriis que sunt de domo ubi necessaria eis administrabuntur." Jean LeClercq, "La vie et la prière des chevaliers de Santiago d'apres leur règle primitive," *Liturgica* 2 (1958): 354 [347–57]; For the translation, see Alan Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 53, n. 66 [43–69].
58. "Si autem viri premortui fuerint et relicte ipsorum, que ordinem susceperunt, nubere voluerint, denuntietur hoc magistro sive comendatori ut cum illius conscientia cui mulier ipsa vult nubat." José-Luis Martín, *Orígines de la orden militar de Santiago (1170–1195)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974), p. 251, no. 73.
59. Echániz Sans, *Mujeres*, p. 53.
60. María-Milagros Rivera Garretas, *La encomienda, el priorato y la villa de Uclés en la Edad Media (1174–1310): Formación de un señorío de la Orden de Santiago* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), doc. 213.
61. Regina Sáins de la Maza, La orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón: La encomienda de Montalbán, 1210–1327 (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980), docs. 12, 15.
62. Sáins de la Maza, *Orden de Santiago,* docs. 9, 23, 24; doc. 49
63. Echániz Sans, *Mujeres*, p. 56; María Echániz Sans, "Spaces of Women's Religiousity in the Military Order of Santiago in Late Medieval Castile," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*, ed. Alain Saint-Saëns (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. 3–22.
64. "Aquelas mugeres aqui transieren sos maridos esten en los monasterios, e si alguna bona vida fiziere e fueras del monasterio quisiere remaneçer si el maestro por bien lo viere remanezca, e si alguna quisier casar gigalo a so maestro o a so comendador, que con so mandado se case." Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* Appéndice de documentos, no. 1, cap. 19. For the translation, see Forey, "Women and the Military Orders," in *Hospitaller Women,* p. 54, n. 68.

65. Echániz Sans, *Mujeres*, p. 57; Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* pp. 80–81.
66. Echániz Sans*, Mujeres*, p. 57; Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* p. 78.
67. Echániz Sans*, Mujeres*, p. 58.
68. Echániz Sans*, Mujeres*, p. 58; Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* pp. 82–83.
69. Echániz Sans*, Mujeres*, p. 58; Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* p. 82.
70. Gregoria Cavero Domínguez, "La Encomienda santiaguista de Destriana: Los Conflictos del siglo XV," in *Homenaje a Joaquín González Vecín* (León: Universidad de León, Secretario de Publicaciones, 2005), p. 464 [463–73].
71. "E estos lugares todos sobredichos dámosvoslos por heredamiento de Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca, en e qual cassa vos don Martín Alfonso e donna María Meléndez fazedes monasterio de donnas de nuestra Orden," *El monasterio femenino de Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca: Colleción diplomática (1268–1400),* ed. María Echániz Sans (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1993), no. 20.
72. Echániz Sans*, Mujeres*, p. 86, n. 232.
73. Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* Appéndice de documentos, no. 1, caps. 17, 18, 19.
74. Klaus Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens, 1190–1309* (Marburg: Elwert, 1999), p. 10.
75. *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: Ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum,* ed. Ernst Strehlke (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1869), no. 296.
76. Militzer, *Akkon zur Marienburg,* p. 19.
77. "Innocentius etc. magistro et fratribus hospitalis, quod Theutonicum appelatur etc. Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia etc. usque ad verbum suscipimus. Specialiter autem ordinationem factam in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitalariorum in pauperibus et infirmis, sicut provide facta est et a vobis recepta et hactenus observata, devotioni vestre auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti pagina communimus. Nulli ergo etc. nostre protectionis et confirmationis etc. Datum Laterani xi kal. martii (pont. a 1)." *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici,* no. 297. The reasons given for this change are no more than hypotheses. Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 21; Militzer, *Akkon zur Marienburg,* p. 20.
78. "[P]luribus autem principibus et magnatibus Alamanie, qui aderant utile et honestum visum est, ut hospitali prelibato ordo milicie Templi donaretur, super quo ordinato prelati, principes et mangates Theutonicorum, qui ibi aderant, in domo Templi convenerunt, invitantes at tam salubre consilium prelatos et barones terre sancte, qui tunc haberi poterant, qui omnes unanimi consilio constituerunt, ut domus sepedicta ordinem hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani [in] infirmis et pauperibus haberet, sicut antea habuerat, ordinem vero milicie Templi in clericis, militibus, et aliis fratribus de cetero haberet." *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften,* ed. Max Perlbach, (Halle, 1890; repr. New York: Olms, 1975), p. 160. Translation in Forey, *Military Orders,* p. 20.

79. "*[D]e mulieribus ad servicia recipiendis.* Statuimus insuper, ut mulieres ad plenum huius ordinis consortium non admittantur, cum viriles animos per feminarum blandicias frequenter contingat emolliri. Sane quia quedam infirmorum in hospitalibus et pecorum obsequia apcius per muliebrem sexum efficiuntur, liceat mulieres in consorores [halvensusteren, halpswesteren] at talia minesteria recipi, ita ut de ipsarum recepcione auctoritas provincialis commendatoris requirat ut et receptis talibus feminis domicilium speciale extra fratrum habitacionem preparetur. Castitas enim religiosi cum mulieribus habitantis, etsi forte sit conservata, non tamen tuta nec sine scandalo diu poterit remanere." *Statuten des Deutschen Ordens,* p. 52.
80. Marian Tumler, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 (*Vienna: Panorama, 1955), p. 373. I disagree with Limburg that the statutes were about not having full sisters within commanderies rather than not having full sisters within the order. Hans Limburg, "Schwestern, Halbschwestern, und Halbbrüder des Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter," in *Von Akkon bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschenordensgeschichte von 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert: Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister P. Dr. Marian Tumler O.T. am 21. Oktober 1977 (*Marburg: N. G. Elwart Verlag, 1978), p. 19 [14–28].
81. A clear example is the case of Gertrud Seynthze and her husband, who, when they associated with the Teutonic order in Koblenz in 1287 were called "frater et soror ordinis fratrum domus beate Marie theutonicorum." The couple remained married and therefore remained lay. Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* p. 22.
82. "Wir wellen ouch, daz man vor sage dien halpbrudern unde ouch den halpswestern, die man enphâhen wil ze der heinliche diz ordens, daz si kusche sin, gehorsam, an eigenschaft sullen sin, unde die dise chuse brehent, die sullen buzen nach rechtecheit." *Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 138.
83. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 87.
84. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 131.
85. Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* pp. 17–18, partly transcribes Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Deutschordenskommende St. Katharina, no. 116.
86. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 134.
87. Tommasi, "Uomini," in *Doppelklöster*, pp. 187–88; Gerard Müller, *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg: Elwert, 1980), p. 50, no. 193.
88. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 174.
89. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 174.
90. "[M]inistralis," Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 114.
91. Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* pp. 21–22, 24–25.
92. "[E]t receptis talibus feminis domicilium speciale extra fratrum habitacionem preparetur. Castitas enim religiosi cum mulieribus habitantis, etsi forte sit conservata, non tamen tuta nec sine scandalo diu poterit remanere." *Statuten des Deutschen Ordens,* p. 52 (French version missing).

93. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 126.
94. Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* pp. 17–18.
95. "[Q]uod nos concessimus sibi soli camerulam sito in domo nostra contigua cimiterio nostro et hospitali . . . et cum sororibus nostris comedet et bibet de cibariis secundum quod de domo nostra eiusdem sororibus ministramus . . . " Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* p. 18.
96. "Se ad domum nostram transtulit in habitu becginarum . . . se verstiet de suo." Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* pp. 17–18.
97. See for a different opinion, Limburg, "Schwestern," in *Von Akkon bis Wien,* p. 17.
98. Hitzkirch was a house in the thirteenth century, but the exact date of its foundation is not known. Militzer, *Akkon zur Marienburg,* p. 76.
99. It moved again in 1323, this time to Beuggen. The commandery at Beuggen had between ten and fifteen brothers in the period from 1247 to 1414. Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* p. 126, and p. 126, n. 41.
100. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg,* p. 76.
101. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg,* pp. 76–77; Tumler, *Deutsche Orden,* pp. 386–87; See also, Johannes Mol, "De Friese huizen van de Duitse Orde: Nes, Steenkerk en Schoten en hun plaats in het middeleeuwse Friese kloosterlandschap" (PhD diss., Fryske Akademy, 1991).
102. See Malcolm Barber, "The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades," *The Catholic Historical Review* 80.3 (1994): 439–56; and David Marcombe, *Leper Knights: The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c.1150–1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 6–20 for introductions to the early history of the Order of Saint Lazarus in English.
103. The account dates from 1128x1137. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185,* ed. John Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), p. 143; Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120–1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 7.
104. "Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare en Terre Sainte," ed. A. de Marsy, *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2.2 (1884): 123–24 [121–57]. .
105. R. Hyacinthe, "L'Ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem aux douzième et treizième siècles," in *Utilis est lapis in structura: mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2000), p. 186 [185–93]; Barber, "Order of Saint Lazarus," 444–46; Shulamith Shahar, "Des lépreux pas comme les autres: L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem." *Revue historique* 541 (1982): 27–29 [19–41]; Kay Peter Jankrift, *Leprose als Streiter Gottes: Institutionalisierung und Organisation des Ordens vom Heiligen Lazarus zu Jerusalem von seinen Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1350* (Münster: Lit, 1996), pp. 58–59.
106. Boas, *Archaeology,* p. 65; "L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* 2 (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1859), p. 82. [1–481].
107. Barber, "Order of Saint Lazarus," 443; Marcombe, *Leper Knights,* pp. 10–11.

108. "S'il avient que par la volunté de nostre Seignor un home lige devient mesel, si que mais ne puisse garir de sele meselerie qui fort s'est prise sur luy, le dreit juge et coumande que il deit estre rendue en l'ordre de saint Lasre, là où est estably que les gens de tel maladie deivent estre . . . " His wife was to enter a nunnery because she was believed to carry the disease and otherwise would spread it through sexual intercourse. "Le livre au roi," ed. A. A. Beugnot. In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Lois*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), pp. 636–37; "Quant il avient a aucun frère que par la volenté de nostre Seignor il chiet en meselerie et la chose est provée, li prodome frère de la maison le doivent amonester et prier que il demande congié de la maison et que il se rende a saint Ladre, et que il preigne I'abit de frère de saint Ladre . . . " *Règle du Temple,* no. 443. Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 217; Jankrift, *Leprose*, p. 79.
109. Jankrift, *Leprose*, pp. 72, 121–50
110. Jankrift, *Leprose*, p. 108
111. The possessions of the Order of Saint Lazarus were significantly less than those of the Order of the Temple or Hospital. Marcombe, *Leper Knights,* pp. 17–19.
112. Donated hospitals include those at Sangerhausen (Germany), Fontenay-le-Comte (France), La Lande d'Airou (France), Capua (Italy), Messina (Italy), Harehope (England), Foulsnape (England) and Tilton (England). The order itself invested little in hospitaller care in the West. Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 16–17, 55, 161
113. The Order of Saint Lazarus experienced crushing defeats at La Forbie in 1244, Marsuna in 1250, and Ramlah in 1252. Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 13–14.
114. Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 14; *Les registres d'Innocent IV: publiés ou analysés d'après les manscrits originaux du Vatican*, ed. Élie Berger, 4 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1884), 3:no. 6204.
115. Jankrift, *Leprose*, p. 106
116. Examples of mixed-sex leprosaria include Montpellier (1150s), Paris, which had a prioress in 1178x1181, and Rouen. In fact, most of the leprosoria and hospitals in Le Grand's compilation of hospitaller statutes were mixed-sex religious communities. *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu et de léproseries: Recueil de textes du XIIe au XIVe siècle,* ed. Léon Le Grand (Paris: A. Picard, 1901), pp. 182, 206–14; *Receuil d'actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris, 1124–1254*, ed. Simone Lefèvre and Lucie Fossier (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2005), no. 255.
117. Hans Stadler-Planzer, "Seedorf," *Helvetia sacra* 4.7 (2006): 939 [913–42].
118. Stadler-Planzer, "Seedorf," 916.
119. Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Lazariter und Lazariterinnen," *Helvetia sacra* 4.7 (2006): 866 [811–76]. Boas suggests that the Order of Saint Lazarus also possesed a nunnery in Nicosia in 1310. Boas, *Archaeology,* p. 66.
120. *Règle du Temple,* p. 69, cap. 70.
121. *Annales Cistercienses.* 4:170; O'Callaghan, "Affiliation, 2," 43, n. 5.

122. *Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 52.
123. Lomax, *Orden de Santiago,* Appéndice de documentos, no. 1, cap. 1.
124. María Echániz Sans, *Mujeres,* p. 49.
125. Echániz Sans, *Mujeres,* p. 50.
126. Echániz Sans, *Mujeres,* p. 56.
127. Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 251–53; Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 8.
128. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 3:no. 3243
129. François-Olivier Touati, "Aime et fais que tu veux: Les chanoinen réguliers et la révolution de charité au Moyen Âge," in *Les chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles),* ed. Michel Parisse (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009), p. 181–91 [159–210].
130. Luttrell and Nicholson, "Introduction," in *Hospitaller Women*, p. 26.
131. *Statuten des Deutschen Ordens,* p. 52.

3 The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem

1. For histories of the beginnings of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, see Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personell (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 27–81; Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), pp. 11–47; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Origins of the Commandery in the Temple and the Hospital," in *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), pp. 9–18; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1–17; Anthony Luttrell, "The Earliest Hospitallers," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Ebenhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolph Hiestand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 37–54; Michael Matzke, "De Origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum–Vom klösterlichen Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation," *Journal of Medieval History* 22.1 (1996): 1–23; Alain Beltjens, *Aux origines de l'Ordre de Malte: De la fondation de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem à sa transformation en ordre militaire* (Brussel: Imprimerie Poot, 1995); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 6–22; Rudolf Hiestand, "Die Anfänge der Johanniter," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 31–56 [31–80]; Jonathan

Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310*, (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 32–43.

2. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 43. A recent edition of *Pie Postulatio* is printed in *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. Rudolf Hiestand, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1972–84), 3:no. 1. See also *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 1:no. 30.
3. James W. Brodman, "Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 88.3 (2001): 395 [383–400].
4. Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 7.
5. Constable, *Reformation,* pp. 54–55.
6. James W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 227.
7. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 1–5, 181–97. Walker sees the difference as difference in motive.
8. Brodman, *Charity and Religion*, pp. 224–26.
9. For example, Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 43; H. J. A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 5; Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ*, p. 36.
10. At the Fourth Lateran Council. However, even here religious orders are referred to as "religio," not "ordo." Raymonde Foreville, *Latran I, II, III, et Latran IV,* Histoire des conciles oecuméniques 6 (Paris: Editions de l'Orante, 1965), pp. 353–54; Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 69–70, 79; Constable, *Reformation*, p. 174.
11. "Prior ordinis" in *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 242.
12. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 30, 31, 48, 50.
13. "[A]d sancto Hospitale Jherusalem et [de Cerve]ra... dono et laudo ad jamdictos hospitals... pro animabus parentorum nostrorum vivorum et mortuorum..." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 22.
14. Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition.* Ed. John Frederick Hinnenbusch, Spicilegium Friburgense 17 (Freiburg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1972), p. 149.
15. Other donations included an estate, four manors, two plots of land for general purpose, and a vineyard. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:nos. 4:18, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26.
16. "Magistro domus Hospitalis Biterrensis." The donation was to provide for the "Hospitalariis habitantibus in domibus Hospitalis de Campanolis et in totis terminiis de Campanolis", which indicates that the Hospitallers did not live together in community. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 17.
17. "Omnia pertinentia que ad eam pertinent vel petinere debent." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 26.

18. Luttrell, "Earliest Hospitallers," in *Montjoie,* pp. 45–46; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 4:18, 11. Odo's intention was to create a "salvitas," an area where a person had the same protection from law as if he or she were in a church or monastery.
19. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 20.
20. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 5.
21. *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Vienna: Libraria Academica Wageriana, 1893; repr. New York: B. Franklin, 1960), p. 10.
22. *Papsturkunden*, no. 1; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 30.
23. "Praeterea honores omnes sive possessiones, quas idem Xenodochium ultra seu citra mare, in Asia videlicet vel in Europa." *Papsturkunden,* no. 1; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 30.
24. Matzke, "De Origine Hospitalariorum," 22.
25. Riley-Smith, "Origins," in *La commanderie,* p. 10, n. 6, gives an overview of the historiographical debate. I disagree that the first Hospitaller convents must have been at Saint-Gilles and Messina because there is no convincing evidence for a Hospitaller convent at Messina at this early date.
26. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 46.
27. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70.
28. In the thirteenth century, rules like this become the defining characteristic of a religious order.
29. *Papsturkunden*, pp. 130–35; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 122, 226.
30. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille,* ed. Paul Amargier (Gap: Ophrys, 1972), nos. 2–4, 257, 264–70; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 42.
31. Pope Pascal II sent a letter addressed to the faithful of Spain on same day of the bull in which he officially recognized the Hospitallers (1113). Later [1119x1124], Pope Calixtus II wrote a general letter of appeal. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 31, 47. It seems logical that *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 8, which is a letter by Richard, bishop of Albano and papal legate to Spain, pressing for support of the order in that region, was dated after Pope Pascal's letter, and should therefore be dated to [1113x1114].
32. *Libro de privilegios de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y Léon (siglos XII–XV): Ms H211 del Museum and Library of the Order of St. John, de Londres,* ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de la Orden de Malta, 1995), nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 37, 38, 34, 36, 40, 43, 49.
33. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 344–47.
34. Riley-Smith, "Origins," in *La commanderie,* pp. 9, 12.
35. Riley-Smith, "Origins," in *La commanderie,* p. 14, n. 33; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 69.
36. *Libo de privilegios*, no. 65 (1155); *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 251, 255, 257.
37. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 403.

38. *The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani),* ed. Keith V. Sinclair, Anglo-Norman Texts 42 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), pp. xlvii–viii.
39. "Obeunte te, nunc ejus loci provisore atque preposito, nullus ibi qualibet surreptionis atutia seu violentia preponatur, nisi quem fratres ibidem professi secundum Deum providerint eligendum." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 30.
40. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:nos. 21, 22, 26, 62.
41. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 22.
42. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70.
43. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 226.
44. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* p. 237; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 81.
45. Adelis is sometimes called Adelaide. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 110; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 141; Jean François Raybaud, *Histoire des grands prieurs et du grand prieuré de Saint-Gilles,* 3 vols. (Nîmes: Clavel and Chastanier, 1904–06), 1:54.
46. For a detailed description see Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 232–33.
47. Women were never ordained, so there was no distinction between ordained or not-ordained sisters.
48. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 239–40; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 83.
49. The rule also applied to sisters (who promised to obey it), although this is not apparent from the document itself.
50. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70.
51. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70.
52. "Domini nostri pauperes." Brodman, "Rule and Identity," 386; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70; *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars*, trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), nos. 4, 8. *La règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1886), nos. 4, 8.
53. . . . omnes fratres, ad servitium pauperum venientes tria, que promitunt Deo per manum sacerdotis et per librum teneant cum Dei auxilio, scilicet . . . Et non querant amplius ex debito, nisi panem et aquam atque vestimentum; que eis promituntur. Et vestitus sit humilis quia Domini nostri pauperes, quorum servos nos esse fatemur, nudi et sordidi incedunt. Et turpe est servo ut sit superibus et Dominus ejus humilis. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70. Translation in *The Rule, Statutes, and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099–1310,* ed. and trans. Edwin J. King (London: Methuen, 1934), pp. 20–21.
54. The militarization of the Hospitaller order is discussed in Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 60–84; Alan Forey, "The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John," *Studia Monastica* 26.1 (1984): 75–89; and Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "La militarización de la orden del Hospital: Líneas para un debate," in *Ordenes Militares: Guerra, religião, poder e cultura. Actas do III Encontro sobre ordens militares*, ed. Isabel C. F. Fernandes, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Colibri, 1999), 2:293–302.

55. The Hospitaller gained control over the castle of Bait Jibrim in 1136. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 116; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 95; Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 31.
56. *La encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los siglos XII y XIII*, ed. María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1967), no. 34.
57. "Hec eleminosa in sacra domo Hospitalis fuit proprie statuta, exceptis fratribus armorum, quos sacra domus honoranter tenebat, pluresque alias elemosinas ipsa domus agebat que non possunt particulariter demonstrari." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 627.
58. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 236–9.
59. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 46.
60. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 74. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904), p. 45; Hans Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur kirchlichen, politischen, gesellschaftlichen, und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1908), p. 38; Riley-Smith, *Knights,* p. 53; Hiestand, "Anfänge," in *Geistlichen Ritterorden,* p. 65; Forey, "Militarisation," 77.
61. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 116.
62. Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 11.
63. Indulgence in Peter Rassow, "La cofradía de Belchite," *Annuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 3 (1926): 224–26 [200–226].
64. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 144; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 55–56.
65. Forey, "Militarisation," 76.
66. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150,* ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris: Champion, 1913), no. 553; Forey, "Militarisation," 77.
67. William of Tyre, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 63–63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 2:800.
68. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 60–62, 71–73.
69. Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedanke.* Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935); translated as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 74.
70. Erdmann, *Origin,* p. 76. However, Erdmann was mistaken in his conviction that the Church was pacifist at first.
71. Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 94.
72. Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 181.
73. Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 308.
74. Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 333.
75. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980): 192 [177–92].

76. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae," in *S. Bernardi opera*, vol. 3, ed. Jean Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), pp. 206–39.
77. Frederick Russell, *Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 16–39, and in particular p. 36; William R. Stevenson, Jr., *Christian Love and Just War: Moral Paradox and Political Life in St. Augustine and his Modern Interpreters* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), pp. 11, 43.
78. Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 49.
79. *Papsturkunden*, no. 3.
80. Brodman, "Rule and Identity," 383–400, argues in addition that both the hospital in Jerusalem and fighting the infidel were aimed at protecting pilgrims, but this is only partly true, and I do not believe this is the real reason that the Hospitallers were able to reconcile their two main charitable activities.
81. It must be added that some hospitaller congregations in the West had also extended their protection of pilgrims in shelters with physical protection on the roads. Brodman, *Charity and Religion,* p. 125.
82. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 527, dated [1178x1180].
83. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 201–202.
84. See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), which argues that the essential difference between the orders is that Templars focused on military service while the Hospitallers had a dual mission of hospitaller and military service.
85. This section is partly reprinted by permission of the Publishers from Myra Bom, "The Hospital of Saint John, the Bedroom of *Caritas*," in *The Military Orders*, Vol. 4, *On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 85–90, Copyright © 2008.
86. Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC), MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 11b, 35, 64b.
87. "[P]ro quibus subsidium necessarium esset armorum, quia congruum est et consonum rationi ut, sicut domus Hospitalis ad susceptionem et refectionem pauperum est instituta, ita quoque per tuam instantem sollicitudinem in hoc debeat conservari, presertim cum magis per caritatem et misercordiam erga pauperes exhibitam quam per fortitudinem armorum credatur posse defendi. Hoc autem tam a te quam a successoribus tuis teneri jubemus, ne sub armorum obtentu cura pauperum aliquatenus minuatur." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 527.
88. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, ed. John Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 17, 217.
89. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 266–67. For an edition in Latin, see *Peregrinationes Tres: Seawulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 131–32.
90. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 266; *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp. 134–35.

91. *Peregrinationes Tres*, p. 28.
92. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 278; *Peregrinationes Tres*, p. 157.
93. See for a detailed account Benjamin Kedar, "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital: A Provisional Edition of Clm. 4620, fol.132v–139v," in *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 3–13 [3–26]; Susan Edgington, "Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem," in *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), pp. 27–34; Piers . Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 61–78.
94. Susan Edgington, "Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 21 [21–37]. Edgington's article includes a transcript and translation of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4852, fols. 83r–104r.
95. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations," 27.
96. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations," 25.
97. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations," 29, 31, 33.
98. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations," 33.
99. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations," 25.
100. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 627.
101. The scribal errors make the text at times very difficult to translate. I would like to thank Maura Lafferty for her numerous suggestions for translation. The original manuscript of "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est" is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 4620, fols. 132v–139v. It has been transcribed and edited in Kedar, "A Twelfth-Century Description," in *Military Orders* 2, pp. 13–26.
102. *Caritas* can only be roughly translated as "charity" because the term originally meant an exalted love, or a high esteem, and charity is merely the expression of that love. It is confusing to translate *caritas* as "love," because the English "love" includes *caritas* as well as *amor.* In general, *amor* is love of a lower kind, a love between lovers, brothers, mothers and daughters. *Amor Dei*, the love of God, and *caritas* were interchangeable, however. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968); *Chambers Murray Latin-English Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1933, 1991); *Niermeyer Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 2002).
103. Bom, "Hospital of Saint John," in *Military Orders* 4, pp. 85–90.
104. "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," in *Military Orders* 2, pp. 19–23.
105. "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," in *Military Orders* 2, pp. 20–23.
106. "Que quia curam infantulis debitam melius noverunt quem mares . . . " "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," in *Military Orders* 2, p. 25.
107. "[I]deo earum sanctitati addicitur parvulos visitare, humilem super illos vigilanciam gerere." "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," in *Military Orders* 2, p. 25.
108. "[A]n cavillanti mundi seductorias illecebras amplecti." "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," in *Military Orders* 2, p. 25.

109. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, pp. 79–82.
110. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2167; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. William H. Bliss and Jessie A. Twemlow, 14 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1893–1960), 1:163.
111. Carlo Marchesani, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981), pp. 117–19; Lorenzo Tacchella, *I 'donati' nella storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986), p. 59; Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Gabriella Garzella, "I Gerosolimitani a Pisa e nel territorio nel Medioevo," in *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana,* ed. Josepha Costa Restagno (Genoa: Instituto internationale di studi Liguri, 2001), pp. 531–35 [531–53].
112. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 1857; Paris, BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 200r–203r.
113. John H. Mundy, "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 203–88. These examples, together with the fact that the Hospitallers, like hospital congregations, followed the Augustinian rule, were active in the world and received "donats," suggests a close connection with the tradition and history of the medieval hospital in the West, but this topic awaits a systematic study.
114. Riley-Smith, "Origins," in *La commanderie,* pp. 9–18.

4 The Lay Sisters of Saint John of Jerusalem

1. Although remembered as Hospitaller sisters, Saint Ubaldesca (d. 1205) and Saint Toscana (d. before 1343) were most likely lay associates. Gabriele Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca: Una santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII–XIII* (Pisa: GISEM, 1995), pp. 134–36.
2. "La confusion entre les termes de confrère et de donat ne tarda pas à s'établir, et, après l'époque qui nous occupe, cetter denière appelation subsista seule." Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310* (Paris : E. Leroux, 1904), pp. 297–98.
3. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 244.
4. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 244.
5. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 242–46.
6. Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), pp. 107–108.
7. Charles de Miramon, *Les donnés au Moyen Âge: Une forme de vie religieuse laïque, v. 1180–v. 1500* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), pp. 97–125.
8. Miramon, *Donnés,* p. 101.
9. *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, ed. Antonio Gargallo Moya, María Teresa Iranzo Muñío, and María José Sánchez Usón (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1985), no. 61; Miramon, *Donnés,* pp. 104–105. For a different opinion, see Jochen

Schenk, "Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple," *Journal of Medieval History* 34.1 (2008): 93 [79–103].

10. *Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1129–1210*, ed. Daniel Le Blévec and Alain Venturini (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), no. 372.
11. Miramon, *Donnés,* pp. 337, 343.
12. Barcelona, Achivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 18, no. 399; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 1:no. 4:55.
13. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp. 3, no. 167. Sibila's full name is unclear because of water damage on the document. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp. 3, no. 116.
14. Lorenzo Tacchella, *I 'donati' nella Storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986), p. 15, n. 9; However, the document is not in the Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, MS. Acta ecclesiastica Veronensis Spectantia 13, f. 700, as noted by Tacchella.
15. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2213:122; Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 243–46.
16. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 469.
17. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 33, 57–58.
18. "[M]e in consororem...ad sepelliendum dono." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:nos. 440, 491, 495, 516, 551, 557. There is no evidence that Constance gave herself as "donnée," as claimed by Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ*, p. 107.
19. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 576.
20. Maria was the daughter of Emperor Manuel's nephew John the Protosebastos. Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 155.
21. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 443.
22. The relationship between Roger and Rohart is unclear, but they do not seem to have been closely related. The aforementioned Roger may have been the Roger of Caiphas who, together with his brother John, made a donation to the Holy Sepulcher in 1165, when Rohart's grandfather, Vivian, was lord of Caiaphas. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 150.
23. *Codice diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta,* ed. Sebastiano Paoli, 2 vols. (Lucca: Marescandoli, 1733–1737), 1:no. 86.
24. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 1250, 1251; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 316.
25. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 1250.

26. "Elegi etiam mihi locum sepulture in Hospitali sicut consoror ejusdem domus et amica, cui dicte domus pietas multum boni semper contulit et honoris." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 1251.
27. "[E]t, dum vixero, tamquam sorori domus mihi deesse nec poterit, nec deberit." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 1251.
28. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2738; See also *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 2661, 2725, 2731, 2732.
29. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 13, no. 114. Marta associated herself in 1164, as did Maria Pocolula in 1179, but neither are called "donata." ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 16, no. 255 and arm. 3, carp. 15, no. 250.
30. Romeo might have been mentally distrurbed, but because Maria was his grandmother, it is more likely that he was too young to make a decision. Children were sometimes given to the Hospital, but they had the choice to profess or to leave the Hospital when they came of age.
31. *La encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los Siglos XII y XIII,* ed. María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1967), no. 73.
32. *Encomienda de Zaragoza*, no. 100.
33. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp 8, no. 287.
34. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 1, no. 69; Joaquín Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents històrichs* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), p. 213.
35. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 124.
36. *Encomienda de Zaragoza,* no. 100.
37. The use of an estate for maintenance is not typical. *Encomienda de Zaragoza*, no. 48.
38. *Encomienda de Zaragoza,* nos. 49, 50.
39. *Cartulaire du Prieuré,* no. 372.
40. *Cartulaire du Prieuré,* no. 88.
41. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, ed. Paul Amargier (Gap: Ophrys, 1972), no. 190.
42. "[P]er sororem." Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne (AdHG), H, Malte, Toulouse, 58, no. 58.
43. "Insuper dominus prefatus prior bernardus de capoleg consilio et voluntate fratrum ipsius domus accepit et recepit eamdem Brunam per sororem ipsius domus et recepit eam per participem omnium beneficorum domus predicti hospitalis que facta sunt citra mare vel ultra mare in domibus predicti hospitalis spiritualium et temporalium ut in omnibus hic haberas tam bonam partem sicut habet et debet habere unus bonus frater vel soror predicti hospitalis et quando ipsa Bruna voluit venire ad sanctam religionem et ordinem predicti hospitalis ut faciat ad suum libitum et ad sua voluntate secundum ordinem et secundum formam ipsius ordinis predicti hospitalis quia ita hoc omnia fuerit mandata et concessa..." AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 1, no. 113. Bruna gave all her goods to the Hospital and came under the care (and command) of the prior of Toulouse. "Prefatis

prior comendavit predicte Brune in omnibus diebus vite sue…Scilicet priusquam ipsa Bruna habuit factam donum de seipsa et de omnibus aliis suis bonis domino deo et predicto priori et fratribus hospitalis sicut in cartam illius domus contineretur quam ego Guillelmus scripsi." AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 7, no. 75.

44. "[U]t quando domum predicti hospitalis ingredi volueritis ac habitum accipere quod ego recipiam vos et faciam vobis necessaria sicut aliis fratribus et sororibus eiusdem hospitalis." John H. Mundy, "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 260, n. 191 [203–88], in which he refers to a document that has been since lost, namely AdHG, H, Dames Maltaises, 5.
45. "[Prior] qui etiam cum Adelberto predicto uxori ejus et socrui concessit ut habitum Hospitalis cum vellent acciperent et fratres Hospitalis essent." *Cartulaire et chartes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem d'Avignon au temps de la commune (1170–1250)*, ed. Claude-France Hollard (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), no. Ch. 18.
46. Genoa, Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), Notarile, Atti notari Giovanni Amandolesio, cart. 156, fols. 221 v, 222r, reproduced and partly transcribed in Tacchella, *Donati*, pp. 63–64; Carlo Marchesani, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981), pp. 133, 318 no. 569.
47. ASG, Notarile, Atti notari Jacopo de Vegio, notai ignoti, B7, fasc. 87, fol. 30v, partly transcribed in Tacchella, *Donati*, p. 63; Marchesani, *Ospedali,* pp. 133, 319 no. 586.
48. Alessandro Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani e i Templari a Milano e la via commenda," *Archivio Storico Lombard* 6, Fascic. II–III, 53 (1926): 185 [185–240]; partly transcribed in Tacchella, *Donati*, p. 62.
49. "[V]oluerimus nos ad sanctam domum convertere." Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC), MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 66v. William Hostarius, who became a lay associate at Clerkenwell, may have been a donat too. He granted the village of Paeton with a charter confirmed "to God, Saint Mary and Saint John the Baptist and the blessed poor of the holy house of the Hospital of Jerusalem and the brothers serving God in that house" in 1185. "I also give my body to the same venerable house," he wrote, "so that, if, being of sane mind, I should wish to enter into religion, I will be bound to enter into the religion of that house, or at least, at my death, I will give my body to the said brethren." *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset,* ed. and trans. Frederic W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society 25 (London: Harrison, 1909), no. 339; SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 76v.
50. *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 146.
51. Miramon, *Donnés,* pp. 132–33; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta,* ed. Guiseppe Alberigo, 3rd edn. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973), pp. 216–17.

5 Hospitaller Sisters in the Twelfth Century

1. Fully professed sisters were called *sorores* or *domine,* but *sorores* could also be short for *consorores*. Unless the context indicates otherwise, *sorores* are taken to be "sisters," just as *fratres* are considered to be "brothers."
2. The prior had promised that "quando domum predicti hospitalis ingredi volueritis ac habitum accipere quod ego recipiam vos et faciam vobis necessaria sicut aliis fratribus et sororibus eiusdem hospitalis" in February 1187. John H. Mundy, "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 260, n. 191 [203–88].
3. Furthermore, the Hospitaller hospital at Toulouse seems to have had female corrodians. For example, the prior promised Bernard and his mother Prima in 1195 that "in eadem domo hospitalis predicti, scilicet in Tolosa, semper permaneant et ibi habeant semper eorum panem et aquam . . . " and to Ricxenda and her sister Willelma in 1199 "pro multa bona que . . . olim fecerant dedit et concesserit predicte Ricxende and Willelme sue sorori panem et aquam et mansionem in omnibus diebus vite eorum in domus hospitalis Tolose . . . Item Ricxenda et Willelma soror eius pro ista predicta comendatione fecerunt de caritate d.ccc.lxx et v sol. Tol. qui fuerunt paccati in istos predictos honores." Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne (AdHG), H, Malte, Toulouse, 58, no. 4 and 1, no. 12.
4. *Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1129–1210*, ed. Daniel Le Blévec and Alain Venturini (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), no. 372.
5. "[D]edit se in sororem." *Cartulaire du Prieuré,* no. 274.
6. "Et ego donna Bona similiter si [my husband] don Chico obierit de hoc seculo antequam ego, non habeam licenciam nec potestatem remanendi in uita secularem sed statim recipiam sanctum habitum domus Hospitalis cum omnibus meis rebus." Madrid, Archivo Histrórico Nacional (AHN), Cartulario Magno de Amposta. IV, p. 281, no. 227; transcribed in *La encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los siglos XII y XIII,* ed. María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1967), p. 234, no. 48.
7. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp. 132, no. 455.
8. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 28, carp. 11, no. 297.
9. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 11, no. 34.
10. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, no. 79.
11. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 18, no. 399; for the thirteenth century see, chapter 6.
12. "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, in "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital: A Provisional Edition of Clm. 4620, fol.132v–139v," in *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2*, Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998): 20 [13–26].

13. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille,* ed. Paul Amargier (Gap: Ophrys, 1972), no. 110; *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 1:no. 141.
14. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 469.
15. Adalasa, Brethella and Truita. Archivo di Stato di Verona, Verona (Italy), SS. Nazzaro e Celso, B. 25, no. 1530, partly transcribed in Lorenzo Tacchella, *I 'donati' nella storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986), p. 59, n. 82.
16. Saint Toscana (d. before 1343x1344) lived in a cell next to the Hospitaller hospital in Verona, but this does not seem to have been common practice for Hospitaller sisters. *Acta Sanctorum,* ed. Johannes Bollandus et al., 68 vols., (Antwerp: Joannis Meursius, 1643–1940), Julii III 14:Col. 0865C; Gabriele Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca: Una santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII–XIII* (Pisa: GISEM, 1995), pp. 134–36.
17. Archaeological research could perhaps provide more clues to possible female presence in Hospitaller commanderies. Unfortunately, Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995) approaches the archaeology of female religious houses and of the military orders as two separate issues.
18. John Stillingflete, "Liber de nominibus fundatorum Hosp. S. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia," in London, College of Arms (CA), MS L 17, fol. 153v; See, for the published version of John Stillingflete's chronicle, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales; Also of All Such Scotch, Irish, and French Monasteries as Were in Any Manner Connected with Religious Houses in England;* originally published by W. Dugdale. *A New Edition,* ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London: Bohn, 1817–1830) 6.2:837.
19. Based on David Knowles and Richard Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longmans, 1953), pp. 300–301, with the exception of Moorhall, which I have not included because I am not convinced that it was a Hospitaller commandery.
20. "Ita quod prior hospitalis conventionavit michi quod in nulla alia domo sua in Anglia retinebit sorores ordinis sui nisi in predicto domo de Bochland Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod domus hospitalis Jerusalem et fratres in ea deo servientes omnia predicta habeant et teneant in libera et perpetua elemosina ad collocandas et sustentandas memoratas sorores." Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC), MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 2r, 2v; See *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 1093 for a confirmation of the same by King John in 1199.
21. CA, MS L 17, fol. 153v; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6.2:837.
22. Originally, Henry II made the donation to the Hospital and the brothers, not the sisters. However, some elements of the relationship between the brothers and the sisters were redefined the thirteenth century.

23. Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28.2 (1977): 113–32; Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 120; Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 155.
24. It is, of course, possible that earlier the king had given Buckland to William.
25. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 1r. The Young Henry was crowned June 14, 1170, and died June 11, 1183—hence the dates for this foundation.
26. "Domine suo Regi Anglorum, Willelmus de Erleiga fidele servitium. Sciatis, domine, quod de feodo meo debeo esse Camerarius vester et habeo j militem feffatum, scilicet, Thomam de Bercham, de antiquo feffamento, et nullum de novo feffamento. Valete." *The Red Book of the Exchequer,* ed. Hubert Hall, Rerum Brittanicarum medii aevi scriptores 99 (London: Longman, 1896), 1:235.
27. "Quos quidem canonicos, postea per plures annos, per eorum culpam et forisfacturam; eo videlicet, quod quendam senescallum suum, consanguineum Willelmi de Erlegh interfecerunt, dominus Henricus secundus, pro tunc existens, fecit amoveri . . . " CA, MS L 17, fol. 153v.
28. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 1r–1v; This cartulary seems to have belonged to the brothers of Buckland Priory, not the sisters. The history of Buckland's foundation is partly reprinted by permission of the publishers from Myra Struckmeyer, "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) pp. 89–112, Copyright © 2006
29. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 1r, 1v.
30. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 3r, 3v.
31. The Templar master, Arnold of Torroja, had been part of the delegation but had died on the way. Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 140.
32. Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 73 (London: Longman, 1879), 1:325; Herbert of Bosham, "Vita S. Thomae," in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury,* 7 vols., ed. James C. Robertson (London: Longman, 1875–85), 3:514–17 [155–534]; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 51.
33. Tyerman, *England,* pp. 50–51.
34. *The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani)*, ed. Keith V. Sinclair, Anglo-Norman Texts 42 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), pp. xlvii–xlviii; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Henry II, Patriarch Heraclius and the English Templars and

Hospitallers," paper delivered at the Fourth International Conference on Military Orders (2005).

35. "[Q]uod vos construatis et faciatis, in loco illo de Sexena, domum Deo et Hospitali, in qua omnes sorores quod infra baiulia Emposte se Hospitali obtulerint recipiantur et statuantur et possint ibi habitare in unum." *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 5.
36. Cf. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, "Les Hospitalières de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem," in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1894* 4 (1894): 139 [137–46].
37. See chapter 3.
38. *Alfonso II, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza: Documentos, 1162–1196,* ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Catholico, 1995), no. 252.
39. Sancha probably associated as a laysister in 1187 and remained so until the death of her husband in 1196, after which she possibly became a full sister. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragnonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: Its Early Stages, 1188–c. 1210," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 119, 123, 130 [113–141].
40. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 10. "[N]on pro custodia monialium nec pro clausura cum ipsemet [*sic*] moniales religiosa sint mura et turres nam virtus ipsarum est versus murus et nobilitas pectorum suorum sicut turres, sed ad perspectivam et bellum visum nam de longe videtur quasi propugnaculum et castrum bellicum…"
41. Huesca, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca (AHPH), Monasterio de Sigena, legajo no. 1.
42. *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 5. Armengaud was actually in Syria by October 1187. Anthony Luttrell, "Ermengol de Aspa, *Provisor* of the Hospital: 1188," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 16 [15–19].
43. *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 5.
44. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 4.
45. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 6.
46. "Et ego Sancha, regina Aragonum, hacipio de domo Hospitalis in cambio pro supradicto manso nomine Codogn villam et monasterium de Sixena, cum supra villis dictis et suis terminis atque pertinenciis, ad construendum et hedificandum monasterium et habitaculum dominarum, ut semper ibi vivant ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis et Beati Iohanis Baptiste." *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 6. A "monasterium" was a religious community of either sex. Penny Shine Gold, *The Lady and The Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 76, n. 1.
47. "[S]ub regula sacratissimi Hospitalis, simul cum additamentis regule, quas ego illi addidi scilicet sancti Augustini hoc additamentum feci…" *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 6. The additional regulation that Sancha created for the sisters at Sigena was technically a customary but is known as the

"Rule of Sigena" or "Sancha's Rule." Cf. García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery," In *Hospitaller Women,* p. 115.

48. "[C]um consilio et voluntate magistri Iherosolimitani et consilio et voluntate supradicti fratres." *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 6.
49. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 6. Curiously enough, this document was prepared and signed by minor witnesses, and the document was carefully copied, but the signatures of the king, the queen, the master, and of the scribe are missing. The original document no longer exists.
50. Karl F. Schuler, "The Pictorial Program of the Chapter House of Sigena," (PhD diss., New York University, 1995), p. 22.
51. AHPH, MS S–58/1, J. Moreno, "Hierusalem religioso". Moreno likes to embellish his stories. García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery," p. 124.
52. AHPH, MS S-58/1, ch. 24–8; Schuler, "Pictorial Program," p. 22. The women most likely occupied previously existing buildings on the site and not yet the newly constructed monastery. Ramos, "The Aragnonese Hospitaller Monastery," p. 121.
53. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 7.
54. "[D]e habundanti religionis fonte procedit." *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 8.
55. *Colección diplomática de la Almunia de Doña Godina, 1176–1395,* ed. Angel Canellas López, (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1962), no. 2.
56. "Ego Ildefonsus . . . dono atque in perpetuum concedo domino Deo, et domini [*sic*] Hospitalis Jherusalem, et tibi Petro Lubiz, magistro, et tibi domine majori, et ejusdem domus fratribus presentibus atque futuris illud castellum de Crisen cum omnibus suis terminis, cum villa et terris heremis et populatis, pascuis et montaneis, planis atque garicis, aquis, et cum omnibus que illo pertinent vel pertinere debent castello, et cum omnibus usaticis suis, et cum omni senioratico quod ibi habeo et habere debeo, et (*pro:* ut) faciatis ibi mansionem dominarum ad honorem Dei . . . " *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 523.
57. "S. Sancie, eadem gratia regine Aragonensis, comitisse Barchinonensis, et marchionisse Provincie que hoc laudo et concedo, sicut superius scriptum est, et manibus propriis firmo." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 523.
58. "[I]n qua semper permaneant omnibus diebus vite sue domina major cum suis sociabus, quas ego recipio in mea protectione et deffensione, ut nullus eis contradicat nec malum faciat. Et mito illas propriis meis manibus in illo castello de Crisen, tali conventu ut ejusdem domus magister vel fratres non commutent illas dominas de illa mansione, set semper ibi permaneant." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 523.
59. Three sisters were mentioned among brothers in March 1178: "Donna" Elvira, "donna" Maria, and "donna" Oria. *Encomienda de Zaragoza,* no. 36; AHN, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, 625, no. 2.
60. "Ut diximus superius don Petro Lopez de Luna, magister de Emposta et prior de Aragón, et donna Maior, prioressa de Ricla usque ad fluuium

Iberis, et don Lop de Filera comendador in Çaragoça et don Galin Tort in Placençia." *Encomienda de Zaragoza,* no. 34.

61. "Facta autem hec carta in mensse março era M CC XVI regnante rex Ildefonsus in Aragona et in Barchinona et in Prouincia, episcopus Petrus in Cesaraugusta, Petrus Lopez de Luna, magister Imposta in Aragona et Barchinona, Urgellensis et Pallarienssis, noblissima dona Maior in Grisenich et in Ricla et in subtus descendencium riui totum Exalonis. Nos qui presentem cartam istam imperauimus scribere fratri nostro Ferrario coram fratribus nostris Galindus Tortus et frater Dominicus comendator in illa Almunia de Ricla sub manu noblissima donna Maior." *Encomienda de Zaragoza*, p. 224, no. 36; AHN, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, 625, no. 2. In 1189, "donna Maior" was present at a chapter brought together by the prior of Navarre and witnessed the end of a dispute in Cizur as "commendatrix in Liach." She may have been the same woman as the commander of Grisén. *El Gran Priorato de Navarra de la Ordren de San Juan de Jerusalén, siglos XII–XIII.* Vol. 2*, Colección diplomatica,* ed. Santos Augustín García Larragueta. (Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, 1957), nos. 60, 62.
62. "Et reddimus vobis domino regi et vestris quicquid nos habemus in Teviza et in Griseneg ex donatione vestra, sicut nos melius per vos habebamus." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 598.
63. Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 113–15.
64. "[F]ratri Bernardo preceptori et aliis fratribus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Boemia, Polonia et Pomerania constitutis . . . ecclesiam Manetin, in qua sorores vestre morantur, vobis et domui Hospitalis cum assensu diocesani episcopi et capituli sui pia devotione collatas, vobis et per vos dicte domui . . . confirmamus." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 643.
65. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:nos. 643, 861.
66. The Hospitallers did not stand alone in the matter. Religious vows were binding for anyone who made them, no matter his or her religious affiliation. F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 1.
67. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 861.
68. "Quo facto idem P. Jerosolymam est transmissus, ibique cum illa multitudine que, peccatis exigentibus hominum, ab inimicis fuit christiane fidei superata, mortem, ut dicitur, subiit temporalem." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 861.
69. This church was probably the the church of Saint Mary in Prague built in c. 1159 with the support of King Wadislav II. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 278.
70. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 861.
71. "Quod si vestris monitis et mandato no acquieverit, nec voluerit a predictorum fratrum vexatione cessare, vos ipsam et filium, appellatione remota, excommunicationis vinculo innodetis, et tamdiu pro excommunicatis

faciatis haberi, et cautius ab omnibus evitari, donec ex integro eisdem fratribus fuerit satisfactum." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 861.

72. A thirteenth-century copy of Sigena's rule has been preserved in AHPH, Armario de Sigena, legajo no. 1. The original seems to have been lost. An edition has been published in the *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 859; and in *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 8. "La regla del monestir de Santa María Sixena," ed. Antoni Durán Gudiol, *Monastica* 1 (1960): 135–91 is the most reliable edition.
73. AHPH, Monasterio de Sigena, legajo no. 1.
74. AHPH, Monasterio de Sigena, legajo no. 1.
75. AHPH, Monasterio de Sigena, legajo no. 1. The matins service at Sigena was less elaborate than one celebrated at a "typical" English medieval Benedictine monastery. Thomas J. Heffernan, "Liturgy and Literature of Saints' Lives," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church,* ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 2nd edn. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), pp. 79–82 [65–94].
76. There is no evidence that exactly this rule was used in other houses of female Hospitallers in the twelfth or thirteenth century.
77. Cf. Alan Forey, "Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Military Orders,* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 185–206. Literacy and learning was more prevalent in women's convents than previously supposed, especially in Augustinian communities. See also Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

6 Hospitaller Sisters in the Thirteenth Century

1. Huesca, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca (AHPH), Monasterio de Sigena, MS 6, fols. 107–109; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 2:no. 1857; *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 111.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), fonds Doat, MS 123, fol. 200; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2 :no. 2923 and 3:no. 4413; Edmond Albe, "Les religieuses Hospitalières de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem au diocèse de Cahors," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 27 (1941): 180–220; Bernard Montagnes, "Sainte Fleur et les dames maltaises de l'Hôpital-Beaulieu," in *Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem de Chypre et de Rhodes de hier aux chevaliers de Malte aujourd'hui* (Paris: Conseil international de la langue française, 1985), pp. 249–71.
3. Francesco Tommasi, "Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta: Per il problema delle case doppie e miste negli ordini giovannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose mänrlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter,* ed. Kaspar Elm

and Michel Parisse (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1992), pp. 194–95 [177–202].

4. "Petrus esperonerius consilio et voluntate Garsende uxoris sue qua totum hoc laudavit et concessit et voluit ut fierit absoluit et redidit atque reliquis Aimerico priori domus hospitalis iherusalem tolose et Prime sorori ipsius hospitalis et omnibus fratribus predicti hospitalis presentibus et futuris." Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne (AdHG), H, Malte, Toulouse, 1, no. 106; AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 9, no. 99.
5. "Notum sit quod Guillelma de [– -] bona propria voluntate amore dei et redemptione anime sue dedit et concessit se ipsam cum c. l. sol. Tolose et cum omnibus aliis suis rebus deo et domui hospitalis iherusalem sancti remignini tolose et Guilelmo raimundo priori eiusdem domus vel fratres eiusdem domus medius cognoverint bona vide, habeat panem et aquam predicta Guillelma sicut una de sororibus predicte domus semper dum vixerit permaneat ibi predicta cum sorore vel cum alia femina que ibi debet habere et quando prefata Guilelma voluerit accipere habitum religionis; predictus prior et fratres eiusdem domus debent illam recipere per sororem et tenere sicut unam ex aliis sororibis eiusdem domus bona fide." AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 58, no. 58.
6. "Liber magistri Salmonis Sacri Palatii notarii, 1222–1226," ed. Arturo Ferretto, *Atti della Societá Ligure di Storia Patria* 36 (1906): 553–554, no. 1486.
7. Genoa, Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), Notai, cart. 27, fol. 208r in Carlo Marchesani, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981), pp. 132–33 and p. 316 n. 528; Gabriele Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca: Una santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII-XIII* (Pisa: GISEM, 1995), pp. 115–17. Orta associated with the Hospitallers in Genoa in 1233 and Tubergina was maintained by the Hospital in Genoa in 1254, but their associative status is not clear. Marchesani, *Ospedali,* pp. 132–33.
8. Anthony Luttrell, "A Hospitaller Soror at Rhodes, 1347," in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard—Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Michel Balard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 130 [129–44].
9. "Preterea sciendum est quod facto hoc testamento prout superius dictum est viro meo Guillelmo Raimundo de Romanino consentiente et expressim concedente et etiam Domino Deo et mihi castitatem promittente, ego predicta Rixendis trado me ancillam et sororem in perpetuum Hospitali Iherosolimitano et per ipsum fratribus et sororibur presentibus et futuris in manu scilicet Guillelmi Raimundi, tunc temporis eiusdem domus magister, et fratris Pellegrini." *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, ed. Paul Amargier (Gap: Ophrys, 1972), no. 71.
10. "Ego Agnes offero omnipotenti Deo et hospitali Iherosolimitano S. Thome et tibi Arnaudo de Campagnolis . . . me ipsam et generaliter omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia et specialiter stare in quo ego prenominata Agnes habito . . . " *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 210. See also *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, nos. 112, 230.

11. "[A]sserbat Arnaudus, preceptor, matrem Ugue esse sororem Hospitalis Ierosolimitani et specialiter Hospitalis S. Thome..." *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 211. See also *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, no. 212.
12. *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III,* 61 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1892–1939), 1227–1231: 30.
13. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, no. 287; Joaquín Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents històrichs* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), p. 212.
14. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm.2, carp. 9, nos. 355, 337.
15. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* pp. 215, 217.
16. *El Gran Priorato de Navarra de la Ordren de San Juan de Jerusalén, siglos XII–XIII.* Vol. 2*, Colección diplomatica,* ed. Santos Augustín García Larragueta (Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, 1957), nos. 92, 93, 98, 126. Ernest Zaragoza Pascual believes that the hospital at Sant Jaume de Illa, in Catalonia, was a Hospitaller community with three sisters (Maria of Illa, Beatrice, vice-countess of Fenollet, and Ava, vice-countess of Castellnou) in 1236, but he provides no evidence. The hospital seems to have been an independent institution instead. Ernest Zaragoza Pascual, *Catàleg dels monestirs catalans* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), pp. 122–23.
17. Miret i Sans, *Cases*, pp. 192–193, 209–210.
18. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp. 8, no. 277.
19. Miret i Sans, *Cases*, pp. 192–193.
20. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, carp. 8, no. 289.
21. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 12, no. 44.
22. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 11, no. 2150; ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 2, no. 238.
23. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 1, no. 69. In 1252 Guillem de Jorba's mother, Elisenda de Jorba, would be a sister of Cervera, too.
24. "Notum sit cunctis quod nos frater Raimund' Romsta tenens locum preceptoris in domo hospitales iherolimitani cervarie pro domina Marchesa of Guardia commendatrice eiusdem..." ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, carp. 15, no. 247 (12 February 1250).
25. ACA, arm. 3, carp. 15, no. 247; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* pp. 213–14; Tommasi, "Uomini," in *Doppelklöster,* p. 198; Lorenzo Tacchella, *I 'donati' nella storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986), p. 18.
26. "Conoguda causa sia Qe la dona na Guillelma del faro comandairids dorgeuil alauzad e donad afou ab cosel e ab volontad dels fraires de la maiso i casal qe es ela saluetad dorgueil ete de la carrera comunal qe un vas norg entro ela terra de hospital ede lautra parte tere ab la carrera communal qeva vas...anno m cc xl viii." AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 241, 17.
27. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 222.

28. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 220.
29. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 220.
30. AHN, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, carp. 625, no. 15 (Almunia); *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2145 (summary, no text); Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 221.
31. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 220.
32. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 4194; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 231.
33. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 820.
34. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* pp. 117, 213.
35. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire i del seu monestir santjoanista, de 1076 a 1244,* ed. Jesús Alturo i Perucho, Diplomataris 21 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1999), no. 232.
36. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* no. 306.
37. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* nos. 306, 271.
38. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* nos. 244, 260, 261, 273;. Doña Amasalt became sister at Cervera in 1172. Her sons were Guillem of Guardia's nephews. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 213. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* no. 306. Another likely relation was Arnau of Guardia, who was a Hospitaller brother at Cervaria. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* nos. 233, 246, 256, 258, 322.
39. "[D]amus concedimus et tradimus vobis Domne Marquesie de Zaguardia domum nostram de Cervarie cum tota sua baiulia et nominatim castrum... ad faciendam inde uestras uoluntates prouidendo tamen fratribus et donatis et sororibus nostris in ipsam baiuliam [of Cervera] ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 1, no. 69 and arm. 3, no. 53.
40. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 1, no. 69 and arm. 3, no. 53.
41. Josep María Llobet i Portella, "La comanda hospitalera de Cervera durant els segles XII, XIII i XIV segons una carta de Jaume Pasqual (1788)," in *Actes de les primeres jornades sobre els ordes religioso-militars als països catalans (segles XII–XIX): Montblanc, 8–10 de novembre de 1985)* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1994), pp. 304–305 [302–314.]. Llobet i Portella suggests that the extra sister was Elisenda of Jorba, who attended the general chapter meeting in Huesca in 1250 (*Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2 :no. 2528). However, Sibilia of Llorac was already sister at Cervera by October 1248. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, carp. 13, no. 138; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 215.
42. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 215. *Diplomatari d'Alguaire,* no. 305. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2 :no. 2528.
43. "[N]otum sit... quod nos frater Ferrandus Roderico, domorum Hospitalis Jeroslimitani in quinque regnis Hispanie commendator, et frater Petus de Alcala[no], humilis Emposte castellanus, atendentes et considerantes devoto corde unum ex operibus misericordie domum sanctam edificare et constituere, in quam venientes hujus mundi falacis contagia valeant

diluere, et suorum peccaminum veniam obtinere, et celestis regni coronam possidere, ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et beatissime virginis Marie ac beati Johannis et sanctorum suorum omnium, volentes dicte . . . ictianis esse patronos et participes, ut fratres et sorores ordinis nostri deo valeant devotius famulari, cum consensu . . . [of the commanders at the chapter meeting] in capitulo generali congregatorum." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2528.

44. "In primis siquidem statuentes ut ordo canonicus, qui, secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam, in eodem monasterio institutus esse dignoscitur, perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 3015.
45. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2528.
46. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 3015.
47. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 218.
48. "Quo circa discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus, vocatis qui fuerint evocandi, et auditis hinc inde Hospitale predictum ex collacione ipsa enormiter esse lesum, eo ac predictis magistro et ffratribus [*sic*] adversus collacionem eandem, sicut justum fuerit, in integrum restitutis audiatis causam, et, appelatione remota, fine debito decidatis, ffacientes quod decreveritis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 3243.
49. A seventeenth-century cartulary is preserved in Paris, BnF, fonds Doat MS 123. Most important documents are printed in Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers.* The best article on the foundation of Beaulieu is Albe, "Religieuses Hospitalières," 180–220.
50. BnF, fonds Doat MS 123, fols. 1931v, 196v. Hospitals in general needed episcopal authorization for chapels. Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 103–104.
51. "et ipsum hospitale de bonis suis juxta possibilitatem suam satis competenter dotasset . . . " *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2352.
52. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2352; BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 193r-194r.
53. BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 198v.
54. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 196r-198v.
55. BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 196r-198v. See for a debate on the document's date *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2669, n. 1.
56. BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 197r.
57. BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 190r-191v.
58. "Deo et beatae Mariae, et ordini Hospitalis sancti Joannis Jerosolimitani et pauperibus et fratribus dicti Hospitalis, et vobis fratri Petro Beraldi." BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 200v.
59. I indentify "Feraldi de Barats" as Ferrand of Barras, who was prior of Saint-Gilles from 1244–1268. See also Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personell*

(1099/1120–1310) (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 510. "Feraldi de Barats" is also called Geraud or Gerald, and Barras, Barats, or Barasc.

60. "pro responsione in subsidium Terrae Sanctae." BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 201v.
61. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 200r-203r.
62. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 208r-210r.
63. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 226r-2132v; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4413.
64. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 211v-21.
65. BnF, Doat MS 123, fol. 241r.
66. BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 213r-215r.
67. "[E]t sororibus ibidem instituendis et collocandis viderit expedire, vel in loco dels Fius, si sibi magis placuerit antedicto. In quo quidem loco ponantur et instituantur per nos magistrum et nobilem supra dictos duoadecim sorores residentes, et non plures, deferentes nostri ordinis habitum regularem . . ." "Barbaras, " "Fontaynis" and "S. Lebola" were also subjected to Beaulieu, but these may have been no more than small cells. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4375; BnF, Doat MS 123, fols. 216r–223v, 247r. The Villaret family had strong ties with the Order of Saint John: Not only was William master of the order and Jordane prioress, William's niece, Benedictine of Villaret, was sister at Sigena and his nephew, Fulk, would become master of the order after him. Burgtorf, *Central Convent,* p. 512.
68. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4375.
69. "[Q]uod sustentationem in Christo nobis delicte sororis Jordane de Vilareto, priorisse, ac dominarum eiusdem monasterii, constructionemque operum in eo faciendorum necessario sufficere commode nequent, volentesque quod priorissa predicti monasterii suis et dominarum aliarum necessitatibus opportunis valent providere, domum nostrum de Curamontano, subjectam prioratui nostro Arvernie, . . ." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 4:no. 4801.
70. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4413. Martel's early history remains obscure.
71. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4154.
72. The archives of Penne were once in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli but were lost during the Second World War, according to the Archivio's staff.
73. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4508.
74. For the most recent work on Saint Ubaldesca and the monastery in which she lived, see, Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca.* The earliest remaining legal document describing the house as a *hospitale mulierum* dedicated to Saint John dates from 13 December 1207 but its transition was probably earlier. In 1240 the hospital was under leadership of a *rectrix.* Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Gabriella Garzella, "I Gerosolimitani a Pisa e nel territorio nel medioevo," in *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana,* ed.

Josepha Costa Restagno (Genoa: Instituto international e di studi Liguri, 2001), pp. 536–39 [531–553]; *Le carte archivescovili pisane del secolo XIII. Vol. 2, 1238–1272,* ed. Natale Caturegli and Ottavio Banti, Regesta chartarum Italiae 38 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1985), no. 209.

75. "Documentos para la historia del monasterio de las religiosas comendoras de San Juan de Acre de Salinas de Añana," ed. Saturnino Ruiz de Loizaga, *Scriptorium Victoriense*, 42.4 (1995): p. 485, no. 1 [475–90].
76. Edwin J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London: Methuen, 1931), p. 264; Pierre Marie Louis de Boisgelin, *Ancient and Modern Malta*, 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1805), 2:218. The story cannot be verified with contemporary sources. See for a number of similar stories Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 169–73.
77. "Et a meridionali parte est domus Hospitalis in qua habitant sorores Hospitalis..." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 1656.
78. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2 :no. 2781 and 3 :no. 2993. "L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2 (Paris: Impremerie impériale, 1859), pp. 442, 445–46 [1–481]. See for a detailed account Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 401–403.
79. "Ea propter, vestris devotis postulationibus benivolum pertientes assensum, quia pro ejusdem terre munimine duros anxiosque labores et sumptus subire innumeros vos oportet, ad quos proprie ipsius domus non sufficiunt facultates, nos monasterium S. Lazari de Bethania, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Jerosolimitane diocesis, quod paganica persequutione jam quasi destructum ab inimicis Christiani nominis detineri dicitur occupatum, cum omnibus possessionibus, juribus, libertatibus, immunitatibus et pertinentiis suis, ut ex hoc ad predicte terre presidium suffragium aliquod habeatis, vobis et per vos Hospitali sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani, tenore presentium, ex gratia speciali conferimus..." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2781.
80. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2781. The nuns acknowledged the authority of the Hospital briefly. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 2925, 2927, 2929.
81. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2781 and 3:no. 2993; "L'Estoire d'Eracles," pp. 442, 445–46; Riley-Smith, *Knights,* pp. 402–404.
82. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2870.
83. Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 51, n. 87.
84. "transire ad alia loca et transfretare, si prioris jamdicti Hospitalis procederet." *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*: Papal Letters, ed. William H. Bliss and Jessie A. Twemlow, 14 vols. (London: The British Record Office, 1893–1960), 1:134; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2047.

85. *Calendar of Entries*, 1:134–36, 152–53, 163; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 2047, 2059, 2086, 2138, 2140, 2167; Thompson, *Women Religious*, pp. 50–52; William Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo, 1947), pp. 60–61. For a detailed account see Helen Nicholson, "Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50.4 (1999): 629–51.
86. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 346. The Hospitallers always were careful to avoid alienation of property. See for examples, *The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani)*, ed. Keith V. Sinclair (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), p. 45; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 70:16 and 2:nos. 1193:12, 2213:9.
87. *Calendar of Entries,* 1:163; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2167.

7 The Hospital and Its Female Members

1. "Si vus venez [tut] entresheit / Par aventure u femmes eit, / Gardez [bien] vos Chasteté/Ke vus de Deu eez le gré. / Ne femme aprece vos grabaz, / Tost i mettereit Sathan un laz." *The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani)*, ed. Keith V. Sinclair, Anglo-Norman Texts 42 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), p. 28.
2. "[U]tilitatis et honoribus," *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906), 3:no. 3039:22.
3. Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, UK:Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 266–74.
4. Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 141–42.
5. Alan Forey, "Women in Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Studia Monastica* 29.1 (1987): 91 [63–92].
6. "Gregorius, etc., dilectis filiis... magistro et fratribus ac dilectis in Christo filiabus et priorissis et sororibus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani, salutem, etc. Ipsa nos cogis pietas honestis petitionibus vestris exauditionis gratiam non negare, quibus, efficax ex eo patrocinium suffragatur, quod, pro Christiane fidei tutela, cui perpetuum religionis nostre obsequium dedicastis, in fervore caritatis intrepide ac prudenter exponitis contra infidelium impetus res et vitam. Sane petitio vestra nobis exhibita continebat quod nos nuper, in generali consilio Lugdunensi, volentes Terre Sancte, que ab inimicis Christiani nominis detinetur miserabiliter occupata, remedia procurare, per que posset de ipsorum inimicorum manibus liberari, decimam omnium proventuum ecclesiasticorum, proventibus quorundam religiosorum dumtaxat exceptis, duximus deputandam. Quare nobis humiliter supplicastis ut, cum vos ad hoc principaliter laboretis, et

vos pariter et omnia, que habetis, pro ipsius Terre Sancte defensione ac Christine fidei exponatis, vos eximere a prestatione hujusmodi decimi de benignitate apostolica curaremur. Nos igitur, attendentes discrimina, que pro defensione dicte Terre Sancte continue sustinetis…" *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 3555.

7. Penne, Prague, Sigena, and Toulouse (formally Beaulieu). The other archives in which copies were preserved might be worth investigating for further evidence of female Hospitallers: Carlsruhe, Lyons, Malta, Marseille, Munich, and Würzburg. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 3555.
8. Anonymous. Profane paintings from Sigena, Aragon. Fresco transferred to canvas. Various sizes. Circa 1200. From the online collection of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: http://art.mnac.cat/index.html.
9. Mildred Stapley Byne, *The Forgotten Shrines of Spain* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926), p. 264.
10. "[I]n fact, after 1187 there was never again any clear sign, either in east or west, that fully-professed Hospitaller sisters were active in hospices or hospitals…" Anthony Luttrell, "A Hospitaller Soror at Rhodes, 1347," in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard—Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Michel Balard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 135; Forey, "Women in Military Orders," 68.
11. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. William H. Bliss and Jessie A. Twemlow, 14 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1893–1960), 1:163; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2167.
12. It must be noted, however, that the evidence for a female commander at Cervera came 150 years after the evidence for a possible hospital there, which therefore may have no longer existed by the time of the female commander.
13. Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition, 1291–1530," in *The Military Orders*. Vol 1, *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), pp. 64–67 [64–81]; Susan B. Edgington, "Medical Care in the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem," in *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 32–33 [27–34].
14. "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, in "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital. A provisional edition of Clm. 4620, fol.132v-139v," in *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 25 [3–26]. After the loss of Jerusalem, a new large Hospitaller hospital was founded in Acre. In 1207 Juliana associated with the Hospital by giving herself to the commander of Acre, but by 1219, the sisters had their own house, which was set away from the Hospitallers' main hospital . Except for lay women like Infanta Sancha, the daughter of King James

I of Aragon (1213–1276), who went to Acre in order to serve the poor and the sick, there is no evidence that the sisters were still involved in hospitaller care in Acre. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 1251, 1656. Juan Manuel, *Obras completas,* ed. José Manuel Blecua (Madrid: Gredos, 1982), pp. 127–28; Nikolas Jaspert, "Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty: The House of Barcelona in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450*, ed. Dionisius Agius and Ian Netton (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 106–112 [105–135]; Luttrell, "A Hospitaller Soror," in *Dei gesta,* p. 135.

15. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 35; John H. Mundy, "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 211 [203–288].
16. Mundy, "Charity," 260, n. 191.
17. Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne (AdHG), H, Malte, Toulouse, 58, without number; Mundy, "Charity," 264, n. 199.
18. "[Q]uando ipsa Bruna voluerit venire ad sanctam religionem et ordinem predicti hospitalis ut faciat ad suum libitum et ad suam voluntatem secundum ordinem et secundum formam ipsius ordinis predicti hospitalis." AdGH, H, Malte, Toulouse, 1, no. 113; Mundy, "Charity," 260, n. 191.
19. Carlo Marchesani, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981), p. 119.
20. "Liber magistri Salmonis Sacri Palatii notarii, 1222–1226," ed. Arturo Ferretto, *Atti della Societá Ligure di Storia Patria* 36, (1906), no. 1486; Lorenzo Tacchella, *I 'donati' nella Storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986), p. 62; Marchesani, *Ospedali*, p. 132.
21. Marchesani, *Ospedali*, pp. 132–33; Tacchella, *Donati*, pp. 59–60.
22. Tacchella, *Donati*, p. 59, transcribes Verona, Archivo di Stato di Verona, SS. Nazzaro e Celso, B. 25, no. 1530.
23. Joaquín Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents històrichs* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), p. 124.
24. "Per magnum servicium quod recepi hospitalis quod moriebat fame nisi esset hospitale quod meis neptus et proximo mei et amici noluerunt michi dare cibum neque aliquid consilium." Miret i Sans, *Cases,* pp. 121, 123.
25. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 1857.
26. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Doat, MS 123, fols. 200–203.
27. John Blair, "Saint Leonard's Chapel, Clanfield," *Oxoniensia* 50 (1985): 209–14; *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales; Also of All Such Scotch, Irish, and French Monasteries as Were in Any Manner Connected with Religious Houses in England . . . A New Edition,* ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London: Bohn, 1817–30), 6:2, p. 801.

28. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, carp. 18, no. 399; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 22; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 13.
29. *El Gran Priorato de Navarra de la ordren de San Juan de Jerusalén, siglos XII–XIII.* Vol. 2 *Colección diplomatica,* ed. Santos Augustín García Larragueta (Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, 1957), no. 126.
30. Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 87–88; Hugh of Saint-Victor, "Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor," ed. C. L. Sclafert, *Revue d'ascétique et mystique* 34 (1958): 280–84 [275–99]; Jonathan Riley-Smith*, The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967*),* pp. 231–33. The Hospitallers' religious inferiority becomes apparent when one looks at rules for transferring religious: it was possible to move to a stricter order but not to a laxer order: Canons of Arrouaise were allowed to become Carthusians or Dominicans, but not allowed to join a military order, likewise Franciscans were not allowed to transfer to a military order (1245). Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), p. 171. On the general topic, see F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
31. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 250.
32. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 70.
33. Riley-Smith, *Knights,* p. 253.
34. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2479.
35. Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC), MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133. fols. 1b–2.
36. *Die Register Innocenz' III,* ed. Othmar Hageneder and Anton Haidacher, 9 vols. (Graz: H. Böhlau, 1964), 2:nos. 54, 56.
37. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2167.
38. "La regla del monestir de Santa María Sixena," edited by Antoni Durán Gudiol, *Monastica* 1 (1960): 135–91.
39. *Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St John in the Netherlands 14th–18th Centuries*, ed. Johanna M. van Winter, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 80 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 453.
40. Confitebor, Ego dixi, Exultavit, Cantemus domino, Domine audivi, Audite celi, Te Deum, Benedicite omnia, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis. London, Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 713; Pamela J. Willetts, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: D.S. Brewer, 2000), p. 309.
41. *Documentos de Sigena,* ed. Augustín Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), no. 8.
42. "[D]um de statu cujuslibet loci, ubi nostra viget religio, paterne sollicitudinis studio cogitamus, ad statum tamen venerabilis loci nostri ordinis, videlicet Belli Loci, Caturcensis diocesis, tanto libentius considerationem nostram expandimus, quanto ferventius inter dilectas nobis in Christo

prioressam et sorores ejusdem loci sub habitu et observantia regule nostre religionis erga Deum et ordinem nostrum semper viguit devotionis integritas, resplenduit plenitudo reverentie, ac servivit referentie promtitudo." *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4413.

43. Gabriele Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca. Una santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII–XIII* (Pisa: GISEM, 1995) includes three editions of Ubaldesca's life (pp. 196–245) and a discussion of the manuscripts (pp. 7–17).
44. V. Cavalleri, "Considerazioni e congetture sui tempi di Santa Toscana," *Studi storici veronesi* 24 (1974): 5–45.
45. For an impression of the modern legacy of Saint Fleur, see http://www.smom-za.org/smom/saints/flora.htm. Paulette l'Hermite-Leclercq, "Fleur de Beaulieu (d. 1347): Saint of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 209–231, discusses the dissemination of the hagiographical accounts. The edition used here is the fifteenth century translation of the Latin original (now lost) preserved in a 1667 copy as Paris, BnF, Doat, MS 123, fols. 295–343.
46. Fiona J. Griffiths, "Men's Duty to Provide for Women's Needs: Abelard, Heloise, and their Negotiation of the *Cura Monialium,*" *Journal of Medieval History* 30.1 (2004): 23 [1–24].
47. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2528.
48. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille,* ed. Paul Amargier (Gap: Ophrys, 1972), no. 100.
49. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 551; *Codice diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta,* ed. Sebastiano Paoli, 2 vols. (Lucca: Marescandoli, 1733–1737), 1:no. 86; Tacchella, *Donati*, p. 12.
50. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 12, no. 53 and arm. 28, carp. 150, no. 297; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 209.
51. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2781.
52. Zaccagnini, *Ubaldesca*, pp. 206–207, no. 22.
53. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fols. 213r–215r, 211v–21, 241r.
54. "[Q]uod priores, attentis et consideratis utilitatibus et honoribus, que ex receptione sororum provenire possent domui Hospitali, ac detrimentis et dampnis, que pro refutatione recepcionis sororum hujusmodi religio posset pati . . . " *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 3039:22.
55. *Cartulaire général du Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 861.
56. Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 217.
57. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fols. 216–223v, and in particular fol. 247. William's nephew Fulk of Villaret was a Hospitaller and became master of the Order from 1305 to 1317/19. His niece Benedictine of Villaret was a sister at Sigena. Jorchen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personell (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 512.
58. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 22.
59. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fols. 231v, 344v-345.

60. In the early modern period, sixteen quarterings of nobility were required for admission at Beaulieu. This was not the case in the period we are concerned with. Emmanuel-Ferdinand de Grasset, "Preuves de noblesse des dames religieuses de Beaulieu en Quercy," *Revue nobiliaire*, new series 4 (1868): 240–59, 302–332.
61. While Sigena attracted royal and highly noble women, Beaulieu's sisters came from the local nobility. *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 22; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4413. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, carp. 15, no. 247; Miret i Sans, *Cases,* pp. 213–14; Francesco Tommasi, "Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta: Per il problema delle case doppie e miste negli ordini giovannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, ed. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1992), p. 198 [177–202]; Tacchella, *Donati,* p. 18; *Gran Priorado,* nos. 92, 93, 98, 126.
62. There were also provisions for *puelle* at Buckland: "In 1228 Henry III granted to the prioress and sisters 2½*d.* daily to be paid by the sheriff of Hereford and 2*d.* daily which Margaret, the nurse of Isabella, the king's sister, was wont to receive, for the support of three girls in the priory." *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III*, 61 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1892–1939), 1(1227–1231):65; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III*, 18 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1922–99) 2(1225–1232):266.
63. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 469.
64. AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 58, without number.
65. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:nos. 440, 491, 495, 516, 551, 557. Constance held on to her title after her divorce but seems to have excercised little political power in Saint-Gilles.
66. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 576. In 1180 Maria Comnena was married to her second husband, Balian of Ibelin.
67. Tacchella, *Donati,* p. 62; Marchesani, *Ospedali*, pp. 133, 316 n. 528.
68. *Year Books of Richard II: 12 Richard II, A.D. 1388–1389*, edited by George F. Deiser (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), pp. 71–77, 150–53.
69. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, Huesca (Spain), MS S-58/1, ch. 24–28.
70. "Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est," p. 25.
71. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille,* no. 71.
72. Alan Forey, "Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries)," *Viator* 17 (1986): 141–71.
73. "Sicut absurdum nimis est," p. 25.
74. *La encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los siglos XII y XIII,* ed. María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1967), no. 17. The son seems to have been born out of wedlock.

75. *Encomienda*, no. 8. These and some other cases contradict the notion of limited literacy or learning within the order. Cf. Alan Forey, "Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 185–206.
76. AdHG, H, Malte, Toulouse, 1, 113.
77. It is possible that exceptions were made: According to Moreno, Sancha's daughter Dulce became sister at Sigena at a young age with a special dispensation by the pope. AHPH, MS S-58/1, ch. 24–28; Karl F. Schuler, "The Pictorial Program of the Chapter House of Sigena," (PhD diss.; New York University, 1995), p. 22. More likely is that she entered as a *puella* rather than as a sister. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: Its Early Stages, 1188–c. 1210," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 133 [113–41].
78. *Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III*, 18 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1922–1999) 9(1223–1224): 175–76, no. 870.
79. *Year Books of Richard II,* 12:71–77, 150–53; Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 36–38.
80. Logan, *Runaway Religious,* pp. 10, 12.
81. "Ego Ihoanna filia quondam lafranci piperis dico et protestor quod si aliquando vel alicubi aliqua verba dixi per que pure videre me reddere ad hospitale sancti iohannis vel ad religionem dicti hospitalis extra mentem meam eram posita et ultra modum turbata de eo quod maritus meus noviter et recenter erat interfectus illa dixi vel protuli et decepta et maliciose et quasi violenter actracta fui . . . nolo esse in hospitale sancti Iohannis vel teneri astricta religione ipsius." "Liber magistri Salmonis," no. 1486; Tacchella, *Donati*, p. 62; Marchesani, *Ospedali*, p. 132.
82. "[I]mmo si aliqua verba dixi que ad reddicionem pertinerent semper in mente habui et expressi et protestata fui quod si non placeret mihi dictum hospitale vel religio hospitalis non starem in illo hospitali vel in religione ipsius hospitalis sancti Iohannis. Cum ergo non placeat mihi status talis vel religio talis hospitalis sancti Iohannis nolo illam tenere vel in huius modi esse . . . " "Liber magistri Salmonis," no. 1486.
83. See Logan, *Runaway Religious,* pp. 42–65 on legal options for professed men and women who were discontented with their religious life.
84. Brothers recruited in the West usually stayed close to their place of origin too. Bronstein, *Hospitallers and the Holy Land*, p. 133.
85. Vitry, when speaking of twelfth-century hospitals in general, mentions separate accommodation for sick men and women but does not mention separate sleeping arrangements for the Augustinian canons and canonesses managing the hospitals. This is why he might have felt the need to stress

that they were chaste. Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition* ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, Spicilegium Friburgense 17 (Freiburg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1972) cap. 29.147.

86. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 523.
87. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson, "Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 31 [1–42].
88. "Donnus Wido abbas de Molismensis stabiluit consilio donni Hugonis Pontiniacensis et donni Bernardi Clarauallensis et abbatis Morimundensis et abbatis Fontanetensis quod in monasterio Iuliacensi nullum ostium per quod possit aliquis ingredi ad sanctimoniales, excepto uno quod in choro auditorii erit, relinquatur. In illo igitur quatuor erunt serae, duae interius et duae exterius, quarum claues feminae et monachi, quibus donnus abbas Molismensis praeceperit, custodient. Ostium illud numquam aperietur nisi consecratione sanctimonialium aut solemni communicatione conuentus sicut mos est, aut infirmarum quae venire non poterunt, et hoc fiat duobus ad minus idoneis monachis, aut propter unctionem sacram infirmarum seu pro efferenda mortua aut intus ducenda uel tali ineuitabili necessitate quae nullo modo possit expleri nisi per uiros, et hoc iterum duobus ad minus uiris idoneis fiat." "Les Statuts de Jully," in *Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits,* ed. Jean Leclercq (Rome: Curiam Generalem Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1953), pp. 193–94 [192–94].
89. "The Rule of Saint Clare," in *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works,* trans. Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius C. Brady (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), p. 209.
90. "Ad quam [portam] cratus pannus interius apponatur, qui non removeatur nisi cum proponitur verbum Dei, vel aliqua alicui loqueretur. Habeat etiam ostium ligneum duabus diversis seris ferreis, valvis et vectibus optime communitum: ut in nocte maxime duabus obseretur, quarum unam habeat abbatissa, aliam vero sacrista. Et maneat semper obseratum, nisi cum auditur divinum Officium et pro causis superius memoratis." *Escritos de Santa Clara y documentos complementarios*, ed. Ignacio Omaechevarría (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1970), pp. 276–77. Translation in "Rule of Saint Clare," in *Francis and Clare,* p. 217.
91. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 8, p. 39.
92. *Documentos de Sigena*, no. 10; Huesca, Archivo Eclesiástico de Huesca, Sección 7–2, Leg. 148, Lib. 2, Cap. 45.
93. Alguaire's statutes of 1330 rule that sisters cannot leave the convent without the prioress' permission, but they do not prohibit going out of the cloister all together. Bertran Prim i Roigè, "Les ordinacions del convent d'Alguaire," *Cuadernos de historia economica de Cataluña* 17 (1977): 53, no. 44 [25–55].
94. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2528.

95. Schuler, "Pictorial Program," p. 31, note 45; *Documentos de Sigena,* nos. 60, 64, 72, 104.
96. AHPH, Monasterio de Sigena, legajo no. 1; *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 5. Sigena was also to some extend answerable to the bishop of Lleida. See for details on their relationship and the tensions it aroused between Sigena and the Order, Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "Exemption in the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order: Shortcomings of the Institutional Approach," in *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare,* ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998):113–41 [289–94]..
97. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:no. 2528.
98. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 4413.
99. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 5v; *The Knights Hospitallers in England, Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grandmaster Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338,* ed. Lambert B. Larking, Camden Society 65 (London: printed for the Camden Society, 1857), p. 19.
100. The history of Buckland's foundation is partly reprinted by permission of the publishers from Myra Struckmeyer, "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006): 89–112, Copyright © 2006.
101. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 70v-70r.
102. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 6.
103. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 1.
104. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 4.
105. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fols. 4–4b.
106. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 4b. One mark is two thirds of a pound or thirteen shillings and four pence.
107. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 5.
108. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 5v. Loretta, Countess of Leister, made a donation in 1227 to provide for a priest for the sisters. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office,* 6 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1903–63), 1(1226–1257):52.
109. *Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 19.
110. ACA, Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, arm. 3, no. 53. Transcribed in Miret i Sans, *Cases,* p. 214.
111. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, no. 2528.
112. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fol. 201v.
113. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, no. 4375.
114. In 1207, Innocent III fixed the number to a minimum of thirty nuns (*Documentos de Sigena,* 1:no. 483; *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 1261), while Sancha and the Castallan of Amposta agreed to the same number as a maximum. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 1272; *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 46.
115. Anthony Luttrell, "The Structure of the Aragonese Hospital: 1349–1352," in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, ed. Anthony Luttrell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 320 [315–28].

116. *Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 19. Fifty sisters seems to be an exceedingly large number compared to the facilities at Buckland, and I agree with Anthony Luttrell that the report may have had a mistake. But even ten sisters, as Luttrell suggests, still made Mynchin Buckland one of the largest Hospitaller communities in England. Luttrell and Nicholson, "Introduction," in *Hospitaller Women,* p. 14.
117. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fol. 201v.
118. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 4375.
119. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 4154.
120. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers,* 1:no. 835 and 2:no. 1272, 1833.
121. *Cartulaires général des Hospitaliers*, 3:no. 3243.
122. *Knights Hospitallers in England,* p. 19.
123. AHPH, Armario de Sigena, legajo no. 1; *Documentos de Sigena,* no. 5.
124. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 3:no. 4375.
125. *Calendar of Entries,* 1:163; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers,* 2:nos. 2167.
126. SHC, MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133, fol. 5v; *Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 19.
127. BnF, Doat, MS 123, fols. 295–343.
128. Juan Manuel, *Obras completas,* pp. 127–28; Jaspert, "Heresy and Holiness," in *Across the Mediterranean,* pp. 106–112; Luttrell, "A Hospitaller Soror," in *Dei gesta*, p. 135.
129. There was opportunity for men to serve the Hospital temporarily too. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 160, 164. Best known among them was the legendary Saint Julian the Hospitaller, who fought with the Hospitallers wearing the Hospitaller habit, but who only commited for a limited time. "La Vie de saint Julien," in BnF, Arsenal MS. 3516 (dated c. 1286); "Zur Legende vom heiligen Julianus," ed. Rudolf Tobler. *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 4.102 (1899): 109–178.
130. *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille,* no. 100.
131. Prague: *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 861; Clarice: *Year Books of Richard II,* 12, pp. 71–77, 150–53; Power, *Medieval English Nunneries,* pp. 36–38; Riley-Smith, *Knights,* p. 233; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 1:no. 514; Alicia: *Curia Regis Rolls*, 9 (1223–1224): 175–76, no. 870.
132. Aconbury: *Calendar of Entries*, 1:134–36, 152–53, 163; *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:nos. 2047, 2059, 2086, 2138, 2140, 2167. Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 50–52; William Rees, *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo, 1947), pp. 60–61; Helen Nicholson, "Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50.4 (1999): 629–51.
133. *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, 2:no. 2781.

Conclusion

1. "Le but du présent travail est de tirer les Hospitalières de l'oubli dans lequel les avait faire tomber le voisinage de leurs trop célèbres frères, et de retracer les phases essentielles de leur histoire." Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, "Les Hospitalières de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1894* 4 (Paris, 1894): 138 [137–46].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Documents and Manuscripts

Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Toulouse (France).
H, Malte: Documents of the Hospitallers in Toulouse.
Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona (Spain).
Órdenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén: Documents of the Templars and Hospitallers in the Crown of Aragon.
Cancillería real, pergaminos: Documents of the kings of Aragon
Archivo Eclesiástico de Huesca, Huesca (Spain).
Sección 7–2, Leg. 148: Copy of J. Moreno, "Hierusalem Religioso," in 3 vols.
Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (Spain).
Órdenes Militares. San Juan de Jerusalén: Documents of the Templars and Hospitallers in Spain.
Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, Huesca (Spain).
MS S-58/1: Copy of Ms. by J. Moreno, "Hierusalem Religioso," vols. 1 and 3.
Monasterio de Sigena (Fondo 2.4.2): Documents of of the Hospitaller priory at Sigena, including its rule.
Archives nationales de France, Paris (France).
Ordre de Malte: Documents of the Templars and Hospitallers in France.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Germany).
MS Clm. 4620, fols. 132v-139v: Treatise on the Hospitaller hospital in Jerusalem.
Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona (Spain).
MS 94: A seventeenth-century Hospitaller rule with illustrations of female Hospitallers.
Fundacion del monasterio de Alguayre y bula de su santidad que la confirma: 1684 copy of the papal bull from 1268 confirming the foundation of Alguaire.
Arch. 1715, caja 2, 1286: A document of the Hospitaller priory at Alguaire.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (France).
Arsenal MS 3516: "La Vie de saint Julien."
Doat, MS 123: Cartulary of the Hospitaller priory at Beaulieu, including the life of Saint Fleur.

Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1–71: Marquis d'Albon, "Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple (1150–1317)."

British Library, London, England.

Cotton MS Nero C ix: Cartulary of the Hospital of Saint John in Cambridgeshire.

Cotton MS Nero E vi: Cartulary of the Hospital of Saint John in Essex.

Cotton MS Tiberius E ix: Chronicle of the Hospital of Saint John in England.

College of Arms, London (England).

MS L 17: John Stillingflete, "Liber." Chronicle of the Hospital of St John in England.

The National Archives, Kew (England).

E 132 /2/11; E 315 /55; E 326 /891, /4020, /5774, /6158, /8696: Deeds related to the Hospitaller priories at Buckland and Aconbury.

Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton (England).

MS DD\SAS\C795/SX/133: Cartulary of the Hospitaller priory at Buckland.

Library of St. John Ambulance, London (England).

MS k/20/1: Visitation record of the Hospitaller priory at Martel.

Society of Antiquaries of London, London (England).

MS 713: Psalter from the Hospitaller priory at Buckland.

2. Printed Primary Sources and Editions

Acta Sanctorum. Edited by Johannes Bollandus et al. 68 vols. Antwerp: Joannis Meursius, 1643–1940.

Aelred of Rielvaux. "The Nun of Watton." Translated by O. Gutman. In *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*. Edited by Carolyne Larrington. New York: Routledge, 1995. 128–33.

———. "De Sanctimoniali de Wattun." In *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores*, vol. 10. Edited by Roger Twysden. London: Jacob Flesher, 1652. Reprinted in *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 195. Paris, 1855. cols. 0789C–0796D.

Albert of Aachen, "Historia Hierosolymitana." In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* vol. 4. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1867.

Alfonso II, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza: Documentos, 1162–1196. Edited by Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Catholico, 1995.

Annales Cistercienses. Edited by Angel Manrique. 4 vols. Lyon, 1642–1649; Reprint, Gregg Publishing, 1970.

Augustine. "Confessionum libri tredecim." In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 32. Paris, 1845. cols. 0657–0659.

———. "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaearum libri duo." In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 32. Paris, 1845. cols. 1309–1378.

———. "Epistola CCXI." In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 33. Paris, 1845. cols. 0959–0965.

Benedict of Nursia, "Regula, cum commentariis." In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 66. Paris, 1866. cols. 0215D–0932D.

———. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. Translated by Leonard J. Doyle, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001.

Bernard of Clairvaux. "Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae." In *S. Bernardi opera*, vol. 3. Edited by Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963. 206–39.

———. *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*. Edited by Gillian R. Evans. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.

———. "Epistula LXXIX: Ad abbatem Lucam." In *S. Bernardi opera*, vol. 7. Edited by Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963. 210–12.

———. "In Praise of the New Knighthood." In *Treatises III, The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 7. Translated by Conrad Greenia. Cistercian Fathers Series 19. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977. 127–67.

———. "Sermones in cantica canticorum: Sermo LXV." In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 183. Paris, 1854. cols. 1089A–1093C.

The Book of St. Gilbert. Edited by Raymonde Foreville and translated by Gillian Keir. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Bracton, Henry de. *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae.* 5 vols. London: Richard Tottle, 1569.

Bullarium equestris ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha. Edited by Antonio-Francisco Aguado de Córdoba, Alfonso-Antonio Alemán y Rosales and José López Agurleta. Madrid: Juan de Ariztia, 1719.

Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava. Edited by Ignacio José Ortega y Cotes, J. F. Alvarez de Baquedano, and P. de Ortega Zúñiga y Aranda. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1761.

Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. 6 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1903–1963.

Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III. 61 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1892–1939.

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters. Edited by William H. Bliss and Jessie A. Twemlow. 14 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1893–1960.

Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III. 6 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1891–1916.

Le carte archivescovili pisane del secolo XIII. Vol. 2, *1238–1272*. Edited by Natale Caturegli and Ottavio Banti. Regesta chartarum Italiae 38. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1985.

Cartulaire de la commanderie des Templiers de Sommereux. Edited by Auguste-Charles-Henri Menche de Loisne. Paris: Champion, 1924.

Cartulaire de Trinquetaille. Edited by Paul Amargier. Gap: Ophrys, 1972.

Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1129–1210. Edited by Daniel Le Blévec and Alain Venturini. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Cartulaire et chartes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem d'Avignon au temps de la commune (1170–1250). Edited by Claude-France Hollard. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001.

Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310. Edited by Joseph Delaville Le Roulx. 4 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1894–1906.

Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150. Edited by Marquis d'Albon. Paris: Champion, 1913.

Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens. Edited by Pierre Gérard, Élisabeth Magnou, and Philippe Wolff. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1965.

Cartulario del Temple de Huesca. Edited by Antonio Gargallo Moya, María Teresa Iranzo Muñío, and María José Sánchez Usón. Zaragoza: Anubar, 1985.

A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset. Edited and translated by Frederic W. Weaver. Somerset Record Society 25. London: Harrison and Sons, 1909.

The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England. Part 1, *Secunda Camera Essex*. Edited by Michael Gervers. Records of Social and Economic History, new series 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England. Part 2, *Prima Camera Essex*. Edited by Michael Gervers. Records of Social and Economic History, new series 23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Codice diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta. Edited by Sebastiano Paoli. 2 vols. Lucca: Marescandoli, 1733–1737.

Colección diplomática de la Almunia de Doña Godina, 1176–1395. Edited by Angel Canellas López. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1962.

Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta. Edited by Guiseppe Alberigo. 3rd edition. Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973.

Corpus iuris canonici. Edited by Aemelius L. Richter and Emil Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879–1881.

Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III. 18 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1922–1999.

Diplomatari d'Alguaire i del seu monestir santjoanista, de 1076 a 1244. Edited by Jesús Alturo i Perucho. Diplomataris 21. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1999.

Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary. Edited by H. J. Schroeder. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937.

Documentación del monasterio de las Huelgas de Burgos. Edited by José Manuel Lizoáin Garrido and Araceli Castro Garrido. 6 vols. Fuentes medievales catellano-leonesas 30–35. Burgos: Garrido Garrido, 1985.

Documentos de Casbas. Edited by Augustín Ubieto Arteta. Valencia: Anubar, 1966.

Documentos de Sigena. Edited by Augustín Ubieto Arteta. Valencia: Anubar, 1972.

"Documentos para la historia del monasterio de las religiosas comendadoras de San Juan de Acre de Salinas de Añana." Edited by Saturnino Ruiz de Loizaga. *Scriptorium Victoriense* 42.4 (1995): 475–90.

La encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los siglos XII y XIII. Edited by María Luisa Ledesma Rubio. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1967.

L'Enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: L'Enquête dans la prieuré de France. Edited by Anne-Marie Legras. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987.

Escritos de Santa Clara y documentos complementarios. Edited by Ignacio Omaechevarría. Biblioteca de autores cristianos 314. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1970.

"L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer." In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1859. 1–481

"Exordium Cistercii, Summa Cartae Caritatis et capitula." In *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux.* Edited by Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean Baptiste van Damme. Citeaux commentarii Cistercienses: Studia et documenta 2. Achel: Abbaye Cistercienne, 1974.

"Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare en Terre Sainte," edited by A. de Marsy, *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2.2 (1884): 121–57.

Gerald of Wales. *Opera.* Edited by J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, George F. Warner. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 21. 8 vols. London: Longman, 1861–1891.

Gervase of Canterbury. *Historical Works.* Edited by William Stubbs. 2 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 73. London: Longman, 1879.

El Gran Priorato de Navarra de la Ordren de San Juan de Jerusalén, siglos XII–XIII. Vol. 2*, Colección diplomatica.* Edited by Santos Augustín García Larragueta. Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, 1957.

Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents. Translated by Vera Morgan and introduced by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2003.

Herbert of Bosham. "Vita S. Thomae." In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.* Edited by James C. Robertson. 7 vols. London: Longman, 1875–85. 3:155–534.

Histoire du prieuré de Jully-les-Nonnains, avec pièces justificatives. Edited by Jean Baptiste Jobin. Paris: Bray et Retaux, 1881.

The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani). Edited by Keith V. Sinclair. Anglo-Norman Texts 42. London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984.

Hugh of Saint-Victor. "De laude charitatis." In *Patrologiae cursus completus.* Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Series latina 176. Paris, 1854. cols. 0969D–0976D

———. "Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor." Edited by L. Sclafert. *Revue d'ascétique et mystique* 34 (1958): 275–99.

Jacques de Vitry. *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition.* Edited by John Frederick Hinnebusch. Spicilegium Friburgense 17. Freiburg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1972.

Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185. Edited by John Wilkinson. London: Hakluyt Society, 1988.

John of Joinville. *The Life of St.* Translated by René Hague. London: Sheed and Ward, 1955.

Juan Manuel, *Obras completas.* Edited by José Manuel Blecua. Madrid: Gredos, 1982.

The Knights Hospitallers in England, Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grandmaster Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338. Edited by Lambert B. Larking. Camden Society 65. London: printed for the Camden Society, 1857.

The Letters of Abelard and Heloise. Translated by Betty Radice. London, 1974; Revised edition, London: Penguin, 2003.

Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia. Edited and translated by Giles Constable and Bernard Smith. Oxford, 1972; Revised edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.

"Liber magistri Salmonis Sacri Palatii notarii, 1222–1226," edited by Arturo Ferretto. *Atti della Societá Ligure di Storia Patria* 36 (1906): 553–54.

Libro de privilegios de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y Léon (siglos XII–XV): Ms H211 del Museum and Library of the Order of St. John, de Londres. Edited by Carlos de Ayala Martínez. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de la Orden de Malta, 1995.

"Le livre au roi." Edited by A. A. Beugnot. In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Lois*, vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841.

El monasterio femenino de Sancti Spíritus de Salamanca. Colleción diplomática (1268–1400). Edited by María Echániz Sans. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1993.

Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales; Also of All Such Scotch, Irish, and French Monasteries as Were in Any Manner Connected with Religious Houses in England; Together with a Particular Account of their Respective Foundations, Grants, and Donations, and a Full Statement of their Possessions, as well Temporal as Spiritual, originally published by W. Dugdale, 1655–1673. *A New Edition, Enriched with a Large Accession of Materials Now First Printed from Leiger Boks, Chartularies, Rolls, and Other Documents Preserved in the National Archives, Public Libraries, and Other Repositories; The History of Each Religious Foundation in English Being Prefixed to its Respective Series of Latin Charters.* Edited by John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel. 6 vols. in 8. London: Bohn, 1817–30.

Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte. Edited by Rudolf Hiestand. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1972–1984.

Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons. Edited by Francis Palgrave. 4 vols. London: Great Britain Record Commission, 1827–1834.

Peregrinationes Tres: Seawulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus. Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. Corpus Christianorum. Continuation mediaevalis 139. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.

Peter the Venerable. *De miraculis libri duo.* Edited by Denise Bouthillier. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 83. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988.

Petit, Ernest. *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne: Avec des documents inédits et des pièces justicatives.* 9 vols. Paris: E. Thorin, 1885–1905.

Pococke, Richard. *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries.* 2 vols. London: W. Bowyer, 1743.

Procès des Templiers. Edited by Jules Michelet. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841–1851.

Ralph of Diceto. *Opera historica.* Edited by William Stubbs. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 68. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1876.

Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents. Edited by Beatrice A. Lees. British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 9. London: Oxford University Press, 1935; Reprint, Munich: Kraus Reprint, 1981.

Recueil d'actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris, 1124–1254. Edited by Simone Lefèvre and Lucie Fossier. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2005.

The Red Book of the Exchequer. Edited by Hubert Hall. 3 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 99. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1896.

Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI). Edited by Reinhold Röhricht. Vienna: Libraria Academica Wageriana, 1893; Reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1960.

Die Register Innocenz' III. Edited by Othmar Hageneder and Anton Haidacher. Graz: H. Böhlau, 1964.

Les registres d'Alexandre IV: recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des archives du Vatican. Edited by Charles Bourel de La Roncière, Joseph de Loye and Auguste Coulon. 3 vols. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1902–1959.

Les registres d'Innocent IV : publiés ou analysés d'après les manscrits originaux du Vatican et de la bibliothèque nationale. Edited by Élie Berger. 4 vols. Paris: Thorin, 1884.

"La regla del monestir de Santa María Sixena." Edited by Antoni Durán Gudiol. *Monastica* 1 (1960): 135–91.

La règle de Saint Augustin. Edited by Luc Verheijen. 2 vols. Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967.

La règle du Temple. Edited by Henri de Curzon. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1886.

Règles et constitutions des réligieuses Hospitalières de l'Ordre de Sainct Jean de Jérusalem établies au monastère de S. Jean Baptiste en la ville de Tolose. Toulouse: Fr. Boude, 1644.

Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life. Translated by Bruce L. Venarde. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003.

Roger of Howden (or Hoveden), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis.* Formerly ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough. Edited by William Stubbs. 2 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 49. London: Longman, 1867.

The Rule of Saint Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions. Translated by Raymond Canning. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984.

"The Rule of Saint Clare." In *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works.* Translated by Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius C. Brady. New York: Paulist Press, 1982. 209–225.

The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar. Translated by Judith M. Upton-Ward. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.

The Rule, Statutes, and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099–1310. Edited and translated by Edwin J. King. London: Methuen, 1934.

"Sicut Absurdum Nimis Est." Edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar. In "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital: A Provisional Edition of Clm. 4620, fol.132v–139v." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare.* Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 13–26.

Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Edited by Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383–1558. Edited by Frederic W. Weaver. 3 vols. Somerset Record Society 16. Taunton: Harrison & Sons, 1901–1905.

Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St John in the Netherlands,14th-18th Centuries. Edited by Johanna M. van Winter. Studies in the History of Christian Thought 80. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786. Edited by Joseph Marie Canivez and A. Trilhe. 8 vols. Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire écclésiastique, fasc. 9. Louvain: Bureau de la Revue, 1933–1941.

Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften. Edited by Max Perlbach. Halle, 1890. Reprint, New York: Olms, 1975.

"Les Statuts de Jully." In *Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits.* Edited by Jean Leclercq. Rome: Curiam Generalem Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1953. 192–94.

Les Statuts de Prémontré au milieu de XIIe siècle. Edited by F. Lefèvre and Wilfred M. Grauwen. Biblioteca analectorum Praemonstratensium 12. Averbode: Praemonstratensia, 1978.

Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu et de léproseries: Recueil de textes du XIIe au XIVe siècle. Edited by Léon Le Grand. Paris: A. Picard, 1901.

Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: Ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum. Edited by Ernst Strehlke. Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1869.

The Templars: Selected Sources. Edited and translated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII: Auctoritate regia institutus. Edited by John Caley and Joseph Hunter. 6 vols. London: Great Britain Record Commission, 1810–1834.

Vatikanische Akten zur deutschen Geschichte in der Zeit Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern. Edited by Sigmund von Riezler. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1891.

William of Newburgh. *Historia rerum Anglicarum.* Edited by Hans Claude Hamilton. 2 vols. London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1856.

William of Tyre. *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique.* Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. 2 vols. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 63–63A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986.

Women and Monasticism in Medieval Europe. Sisters and Patrons of Cistercian Reform. Edited and translated by Constance H. Berman. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002.

Year Books of Richard II: 12 Richard II, A.D. 1388–1389. Edited by George F. Deiser. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

"Zur Legende vom heiligen Julianus," edited by Rudolf Tobler. *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 4.102. (1899): 109–78.

3. Selected Secondary Works

Albe, Edmond. "Les religieuses Hospitalières de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem au diocèse de Cahors." *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 27 (1941): 180–220.

Alturo i Perucho, Jesús. "Marquesa de la Guàrdia: fundadora, comanadora i benefactora del monestir femení de la Mare de Déu d'Alguaire de l'Orde de Sant Joan de Jerusalem." *Llerda Humanitats* 50 (1993): 51–54.

Alvarez Pelenzuela, Vincente-Angel. *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla, siglos XII–XIII.* Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1978.

Arribas Salaberri, Julio P. *Doña Blanca de Aragón y de Anjou, XVI priora del Real Monasterio de Sijena.* Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Llerdenses de la Excama, 1973.

———. *Historia de Sijena.* Lerida: Gráficas Larrosa, 1975.

Ayala Martínez, Carlos de, "San Felices de Amaya, monasterio medieval de la orden de Calatrava." In *Medievo hispano: Estudios in memoriam del Prof. Derek W. Lomax.* Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1995. 17–34.

———. *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en el Edad Media (siglos XII–XV).* Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007.

Bagger, Matthew. *Religious Experience, Justification and History.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Barber, Malcolm. "The Charitable and Medical Activities of the Hospitallers and Templars, Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries." In *A History of Pastoral Care.* Edited by G. R. Evans. London: Cassell, 2000. 148–68.

———. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. "The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades." *The Catholic Historical Review* 80.3 (1994): 439–56.

Barquero Goñi, Carlos. "The Hospitallers and the Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 1, *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick.* Edited by Malcolm Barber. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994. 28–33.

Barthélemy, Edouard de. *Diocèse ancien de Châlons-sur-Marne; Histoire et monuments; suivi des cartulaires inédits de la commanderie de la Neuville-au-Temple, des abbeyes de Toussaints, de Monstiers et du prieuré de Vinetz.* 2 vols. Paris: A. Aubry, 1861.

Bellomo, Elena. *The Templar Order in North-West Italy, 1142–c. 1330.* Boston: Brill, 2008.

Beltjens, Alain. *Aux origines de l'Ordre de Malte: De la fondation de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem à sa transformation en ordre militaire.* Brussel: Imprimerie Poot, 1995.

Bennett, Judith. "Confronting Continuity." *Journal of Women's History* 9.3 (1997): 73–94.

———. "Medievalism and Feminism." *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 68.2 (1993): 309–31.

Berman, Constance H. *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

———. "Men's Houses, Women's Houses: The Relationship Between the Sexes in Twelfth-Century Monasticism." In *The Medieval Monastery*. Edited by Andrew MacLeish. St Cloud: North Star Press, 1988. 43–52.

———. "Were there Twelfth-Century Cisterican Nuns?" *Church History* 68.4 (1999): 824–64.

———. "Women as Donors and Patrons to Southern-French Monasteries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *Worlds of Medieval Women*. Edited by Constance Berman, Charles W. Connell and Judith Rothshield. Morgantown: University of West Virginia Press, 1985. 53–68.

Bird, Jessalyn. "Medicine for Body and Soul: Jacques de Vitry's Sermons to Hospitallers and their Charges." In *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Joseph Ziegler and Peter Biller. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001. 91–134.

Bisson, Thomas N. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Blair, John. "Saint Leonard's Chapel: Clanfield." *Oxoniensia* 50 (1985): 209–14.

Blaquière, Henri. "Les Hospitaliers en Albigeois à l'époque de la croisade: La commanderie de Rayssac." In *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 4. Toulouse: Privat, 1969. 335–51.

Boas, Adrian J. *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Boisgelin, Pierre Marie Louis de. *Ancient and Modern Malta*. 2 vols. London: printed for R. Phillips, 1805.

Bom, Myra. "The Hospital of Saint John, the Bedroom of *Caritas*." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 4, *On Land and By Sea*. Edited by Judi Upton-Ward. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 85–90.

Bonet Donato, María. *La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la Castellanía de Amposta (ss. XII–XV)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994.

Borchardt, Karl. "Urban Commanderies in Germany." In *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiévale*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre. Paris: Comité des travaux histoques et scientifiques, 2002. 297–305.

Bosio, Iacomo. *Histoire des chevaliers de l'ordre de S. Iean de Hierusalem*. Paris, 1659.

Boswell, John E. "Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family." *American Historical Review* 89.1 (1984): 10–33.

Bouchard, Constance B. *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Du Bourg, M. A. *Ordre de Malte: Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse et des diverses possessions de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le sud-ouest de la France.* Toulouse: Sistac et Boubée, 1883.

Brodman, James W. *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe.* Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009.

———. *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

———. "Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders." *The Catholic Historical Review* 87.3 (2001): 383–400.

Bronstein, J. *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.

Brundage, James A. *Sex, Law, and Marriage in the Middle Ages.* Aldershot: Variorum, 1993.

Burgtorf, Jochen. *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personell (1099/1120–1310).* Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Burnaby, John. *Amor Dei: A Study of the Religion of St Augustine.* The Hulsean Lectures. London: Hodder & Stoughton: 1938. Reprint, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1991.

Burrow, Ian. "Mynchin Buckland Priory–Topographical Notes." *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 129 (1985): 110–13.

Burton, Janet E. *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. "Reform or Revolution? Monastic Movements of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Medieval History* 1.2 (1994): 23–36.

Byne, Mildred Stapley. *The Forgotten Shrines of Spain*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality.* Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979.

———. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Cahen, Claude. *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940.

Calvet, Antoine. *Les légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem.* Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000.

Carcenac, A. R, *Les Templiers du Larzac.* Nîmes: Lacour, 1994.

Cavalleri, V. "Considerazioni e congetture sui tempi di Santa Toscana." *Studi storici veronesi* 24 (1974): 5–45.

Cavero Domínguez, Gregoria. "La encomienda santiaguista de Destriana: Los conflictos del siglo XV." In *Homenaje a Joaquín González Vecín.* León: Universidad de León, Secretario de Publicaciones, 2005. 463–73.

Ceccarelli Lemut, Maria Luisa, and Gabriella Garzella. "I Gerosolimitani a Pisa e nel territorio nel Medioevo." In *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana*. Edited by Josepha Costa Restagno. Genoa: Instituto internazionale di studi Liguri, 2001. 531–53.

Colombo, Alessandro. "I Gerosolimitani e i Templari a Milano e la via commenda." *Archivio storico lombardo,* ser. 6, Fascic. II–III, 53 (1926): 185–240.

Constable, Giles. "Aelred of Rielvaux and the Nun of Watton: An Episode in the Early History of the Gilbertine Order." In *Medieval Women*. Edited by Derek Baker and Rosalind Hill. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978. 205–226.

———. *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

———. "The Orders of Society in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Medieval Religion: New Approaches.* Edited by Constance H. Berman. New York: Routledge, 2005. 68–94.

———. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Coulton, George G. "The Truth About the Monasteries." In *Ten Medieval Studies with Four Appendices*. Edited by George G. Coulton. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1930. 84–107.

Degler-Spengler, Brigitte. "Lazariter und Lazariterinnen." In *Helvetia sacra* 4.7 (2006): 811–72.

———. "Die religiöse Frauenbewegung des Mittelalters: Konversen – Nonnen – Beginen." *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1984): 75–88.

———. "Zahlreich wie die Sterne des Himmels: Zisterzienser, Dominikaner und Franziskaner vor dem Problem der Inkorporation von Frauenklöstern." *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1985): 37–50.

Delaville Le Roulx, Joseph. "Les Hospitalières de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem." *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1894* 4 (1894): 137–46.

———. *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310–1421.* Paris: E. Leroux, 1913.

———. *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310.* Paris: E. Leroux, 1904.

———. "Introduction." In *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310.* Paris: E. Leroux, 1894. x–xx.

Demurger, Alain. *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge.* Paris: Seuil, 2002.

Dickinson, John C. *Monastic Life in Medieval England*. London: A. and C. Black, 1961.

———. *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*. London: SPCK, 1950.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined.* Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Ducaud-Bourget, François. *La spiritualité de l'Ordre de Malte, 1099–1963.* Paris: La Caraque, 1955.

Dunning, Robert W. and William Page. *The Victoria History of the County of Somerset.* 9 vols. London: A. Constable, 1969.

Durbec, Joseph-Antoine. *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Provence et dans les Alpes-Maritimes.* Grenoble: Le Mercure Dauphinois, 2001.

Echániz Sans, María. *Las mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la Edad Media.* Salamanca: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1992.

———. “Spaces of Women’s Religiousity in the Military Order of Santiago in Late Medieval Castile.” In *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*. Edited by Alain Saint-Saëns. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996. 3–22.

Eckenstein, Lina. *Woman under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint Lore and Convent Life between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1896.

Edgington, Susan B. “Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s.” *Crusades* 4 (2005): 21–37.

———. “Medical Care in the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.” In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*. Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 27–34.

Elkins, Sharon K. *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Ellenblum, Roni. *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Elm, Kasper. “Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme.” In *‘Militia Christi’ e crociata nei secoli XI–XIII*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992. 477–518.

Erdmann, Carl. *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*. Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

———. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Translated by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Forchini, A. “Le religiose Gerosolimitane dell’Ordine dei Cavalieri di Malta e la chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista nella città di Penne.” *Rivista abruzzese* 2.2 (1949): 4–9.

Favreau-Lilie, Marie-Luise. *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land: vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1989.

Foreville, Raymonde. *Latran I, II, III, et Latran IV*. Histoire des conciles oecuméniques 6. Paris: Editions de l’Orante, 1965.

Forey, Alan. “Constitutional Conflict and Change in the Hospital of St. John during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.1 (1982): 15–29.

———. “The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century.” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36.2 (1985): 175–95.

———. “Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*. Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 185–206.

———. “The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John.” *Studia Monastica* 26.1 (1984): 75–89.

———. *Military Orders and Crusades*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.

———. “The Military Orders and the Spanish Reconquest in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” *Traditio* 40 (1984): 197–234.

———. *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

———. “Novitiate and Instruction in the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” *Speculum* 61.1 (1986): 1–17.

———. "Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries)." *Viator* 17 (1986): 141–71.

———. "St. Thomas of Acre," *English Historical Review* 9 (1977): 481–503.

———. *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

———. "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Studia Monastica* 29.1 (1987): 63–92.

———. "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 43–69.

Freedman, Paul. "Military Orders and Peasant Servitude in Catalonia, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 65.1 (1985): 91–110.

García-Guijarro Ramos, Luis. "Exemption in the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order: Shortcomings of the Institutional Approach." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*. Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 289–94.

———. "La militarización de la orden del Hospital: Linéas para un debate." In *Ordenes militares: Guerra, religião, poder e cultura. Actas do III encontro sobre ordens militares*. Edited by Isabel C. F. Fernandes. 2 vols. Lisbon: Colibri, 1999. 293–302.

———. "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: Its Early Stages, 1188–c. 1210." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 113–41.

Gardelles, Jacques. "Le prieuré de Sigena aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Étude architecturale." *Bulletin Monumental* 133.1 (1975): 15–28.

Garver, Valerie L. *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Gervers, Michael. "A History of the Cartulary of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England (British Museum, Cotton Ms. Nero E vi)." *Scriptorium* 28.2 (1974): 262–73.

———. *The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library (Cotton MS Nero E VI): A Study of the Manuscript and its Composition*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981.

———. "The Medieval Cartulary Tradition and the Survival of Archival Material as Reflected in the English Hospitaller Cartulary of 1442." *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975): 504–14.

———. "'Pro defensione Terre Sancte:' The Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 1, *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*. Edited by Malcolm Barber. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994. 3–20.

Gilchrist, Roberta. "The Archaeology of Medieval English Nunneries: A Research Design." In *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*. Edited by Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum. Oxford: B.A.R., 1989. 251–60.

———. *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*. London: Leicester University Press, 1995.

———. *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Gill, Katherine. "Scandala: Controversies Concerning Clausura and Women's Religious Communities in Late Medieval Italy." In *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500.* Edited by Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 177–204.

Gold, Penny Shine. "The Charters of Le Ronceray d'Angers: Male/Female Interaction in Monastic Business." In *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History.* Edited by Joel T. Rosenthal. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990. 122–32.

———. *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Golding, Brian. *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c. 1130–c. 1300.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Golubovich, Girolamo. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'oriente francescano.* 5 vols. Florence: Quaracchi Presso Firenze, 1906–1926.

Grasset, Emmanuel-Ferdinand de. "Preuves de noblesse des dames religieuses de Beaulieu en Quercy." *Revue nobiliaire*, new series 4 (1868): 240–59, 302–32.

Grélois, Alexis. "Les chanoines réguliers et la conversion des femmes au XIIe siècle." In *Les chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles).* Edited by Michel Parisse. Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009. 233–63.

Griffiths, Fiona J. "Men's Duty to Provide for Women's Needs: Abelard, Heloise, and their Negotiation of the *Cura Monialium*." *Journal of Medieval History* 30.1 (2004): 1–24.

———. *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Grundmann, Herbert. *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism.* Translated by Steven Rowan. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995.

Hallam, Elizabeth M. "Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28.2 (1977): 113–32.

Hamilton, Bernard. "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190)." In *Medieval Women.* Edited by Derek Baker and Rosalind Hill. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978. 143–74.

Harvey, Barbara. F. *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Heffernan, Thomas J. "Liturgy and Literature of Saints' Lives." In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church.* Edited by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter. 2nd edn., Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005. 65–94.

Hélyot, Pierre and Maximilien Bullot. *Histoires des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires et des congregations séculières de l'un et de l'autre sexe.* 8 vols. Paris: J. B. Goignard, 1714–1716.

l'Hermite-Leclercq, Paulette. "Fleur de Beaulieu (d. 1347): Saint of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages.* Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 209–31.

Hiestand, Rudolf. "Die Anfänge der Johanniter." In *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas.* Edited by Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980. 31–80.

Hopma Zijlema, R. "Het klooster 'Wijtwerd' by Usquert." In *Historie van Usquert.* Edited by G. Klok. Bedum: Profiel, 1996. 34–37

Horvat, Marian T. "Queen Sancha of Aragon and the Royal Monastery of Sigena." PhD Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1994.

Howe, John. "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church." *American Historical Review* 93.2 (1988): 317–39.

Hugo, Thomas. *The Mediaeval Nunneries of the County of Somerset and Diocese of Bath and Wales.* London: J. R. Smith, 1867.

Hume, Edgar. *Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.

Hyacinthe, R. "L'Ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem aux douzième et treizième siècles." In *Utilis est lapis in structura: Mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre*, Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2000. 185–93.

James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature.* New York, 1902. Reprint, New York: Routledge, 2003.

Jankrift, Kay Peter. *Leprose als Streiter Gottes: Institutionalisierung und Organisation des Ordens vom Heiligen Lazarus zu Jerusalem von seinen Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1350.* Münster: Lit, 1996.

Jaspert, Nikolas. "Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty: The House of Barcelona in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." In *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450.* Edited by Dionisius Agius and Ian Netton. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. 105–35.

Johnson, Penelope D. *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Juillet, Jacques. *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Quercy: Les commanderies.* Martel: Editions du Laquet, 1999.

Kedar, Benjamin. "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital: A Provisional Edition of Clm. 4620, fol.132v–139v." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare.* Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 3–26.

Kennedy, Hugh. *Crusader Castles.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

King, Edwin J. *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land.* London: Methuen, 1931.

———. *The Knights of St. John in the British Empire: Being the Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.* London: St. John Ambulance Association, 1934.

King, Edwin James and Harry Luke. *The Knights of St. John in the British Realm. Being the Official History of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of*

Jerusalem. London: The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, 1967.

Knowles, David. *The Religious Orders in England*. 3 vols. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1961–1974.

———. "The Revolt of the Lay Brothers of Sempringham." *English Historical Review* 50 (1935): 465–87.

Knowles, David and Richard Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. London: Longmans, 1953.

Koch, E. M. F. *De kloosterpoort als sluitpost? Adelijke vrouwen langs Maas en Rijn tussen huwelijk en convent, 1200–1600*. Leeuwarden: Eisma, 1994.

Lagleder, Gerhard. *Die Ordensregel der Johanniter/Malteser*. Sant Otillien: EOS, 1983.

Lawless, George. *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Le Blevec, Daniel. "Fondations et oeuvres charitables au Moyen Âge." In *Fondations et oeuvres charitables au Moyen Âge*. Edited by Jean Dufour and Henri Platelle. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1999. 7–22.

———. "Le rôle des femmes dans l'assistance et la charité." In *La femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc: XIIIe-XIVe s*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 23. Toulouse: Privat, 1988. 171–90.

Le Blevec, Daniel and Alain Venturini. "Cartulaires des ordres militaires XIIe–XIIIe siècles." In *Les Cartulaires*. Edited by Laurent Morelle, Olivier Guyotjeannin, and Michel Parisse. Paris: École des Chartes, 1993. 451–65.

Leclercq, Jean. "Medieval Feminine Monasticism: Reality versus Romantic Images." In *Benedictus: Studies in Honor of St. Benedict of Nursia*. Edited by Roxane Elder. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981.

———. *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

———. "La vie et la prière des chevaliers de Santiago d'après leur règle primitive, *Liturgica* 2 (1958): 347–57.

———. *Women and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Translated by Marie-Bernard Saïd. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989.

Leyser, Henrietta. *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000–1150*. London: Macmillian, 1984.

———. *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450–1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Licence, Tom, "The Military Orders as Monastic Orders." *Crusades* 5 (2006): 39–53.

Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–113.

Limburg, Hans. "Schwestern, Halbschwestern, und Halbbrüder des Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter." In *Von Akkon bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschenordensgeschichte von 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert: Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister P. Dr. Marian Tumler O.T. am 21. Oktober 1977*. Marburg: N. G. Elwart Verlag, 1978. 14–28.

Little, Lester K. "Evangelical Poverty: The New Money Economy and Violence." In *Poverty in the Middle Ages*. Edited by David Flood. Werl: D. Coelde, 1975. 11–26.

Lladonosa i Pujol, Josep. *História de la vila d'Alguaire i el sue monastir santjoanista*. Alguaire: Excama Ajuntament d'Alguaire, 1981.

Llobet i Portella, Josep María. "La comanda hospitalera de Cervera durant els segles XII, XIII i XIV segons una carta de Jaume Pasqual (1788)." In *Actes de les primeres jornades sobre els ordes religioso-militars als països catalans: (segles XII–XIX): Montblanc, 8–10 de novembre de 1985*. Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1994. 302–314.

Lloyd, Simon D. *English Society and the Crusade*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Logan, F. Donald. *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Lomax, Derek W. *Las ordenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la edad media*. Salamanca: Instituto de Historia de la Teología Española, 1976.

———. *La orden de Santiago, 1170–1275*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1965.

———. *The Reconquest of Spain*. London: Longman, 1978.

Luttrell, Anthony. "The Earliest Hospitallers." In *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Ebenhard Mayer*. Edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolph Hiestand. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997. 37–55.

———. "Ermengol de Aspa, *Provisor* of the Hospital: 1188," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 15–19.

———. "Hospitaller Life in Aragon, 1319–1370." In *God and Man in Medieval Spain: Essays in Honour of J. R. L. Highfield*. Edited by Derek Lomax and David MacKenzie. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1989. 97–115.

———. "The Hospitallers' Early Records." In *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*. Edited by John France and William G. Zajac. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 135–54.

———. "The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition, 1291–1530." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 1, *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*. Edited by Malcolm Barber. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994. 64–81.

———. "A Hospitaller Soror at Rhodes, 1347." In *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard–Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*. Edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Michel Balard. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. 129–44.

———. "Margarida d'Erill, Hospitaller of Alguaire, 1415–1456." *Anuario de estudios medievales* 28 (1998): 219–49.

———. "The Structure of the Aragonese Hospital: 1349–1352." In *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. 315–28.

Luttrell, Anthony and Helen Nicholson, "Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 1–42.

Makowski, Elizabeth M. *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and its Commentators, 1298–1500.* Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1997.

Marchesani, Carlo. *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo.* Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981.

Marcombe, David. *Leper Knights: The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c. 1150–1544.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.

Martín, José-Luis, *Orígines de la orden militar de Santiago (1170–1195).* Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974.

Mastnak, Tomaž. *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Matzke, Michael. "De origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum–Vom klösterlichen Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation." *Journal of Medieval History* 22.1 (1996): 1–23.

McCracken, Peggy. "The Amenorrhea of War." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28.2 (2002): 625–43.

McCrank, Lawrence J. *Medieval Frontier History in New Catalonia.* Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.

McKiernan González, Eileen Patricia. "Monastery and Monarchy: The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas and Santa María la Real de Sigena." PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2005.

McLaughlin, Megan. "The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare, and Society in Medieval Europe." *Women's Studies* 17.3–4 (1990): 193–209.

McNamara, Jo Ann. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Mifsud, A. *Knights Hospitallers of the Ven. Tongue of England in Malta.* Valetta: The Malta Herald Printing Office, 1914.

Militzer, Klaus. *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens, 1190–1309.* Marburg: Elwert, 1999.

Miller, Timothy A. "The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West." *Speculum* 53.4 (1978): 709–33.

Miramon, Charles de. *Les donnés au Moyen Âge: Une forme de vie religieuse laïque, v. 1180–v. 1500.* Paris: Cerf, 1999.

Miret i Sans, Joaquín. *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents històrichs.* Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910.

———. *Noticia històrica del monestir d'Alguayre de la orde sagrada y militar del Hospital de Sant Joan de Jerusalem.* Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1899.

Mitchell, Piers D. *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Mol, Johannes. "The Beginnings of the Military Orders in Frisia." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare.* Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 307–318.

———. "De Friese huizen van de Duitse Orde: Nes, Steenkerk en Schoten en hun plaats in het middeleeuwse Friese kloosterlandschap." PhD Dissertation, Fryske Akademy, 1991.

———. "The Hospitaller Sisters in Frisia." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 179–207.

Mollat, Michel. "Hospitalité et assistance au début du XIIIe siècle." In *Poverty in the Middle Ages*. Edited by David Flood. Werl: D. Coelde, 1975. 37–51.

Montagnes, Bernard. "Sainte Fleur et les dames maltaises de l'Hôpital-Beaulieu." In *Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, de Chypre et de Rhodes de hier aux chevaliers de Malte aujourd'hui*. Paris: Conseil international de la langue française, 1985. 249–71.

Müller, Gerard. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. Marburg: Elwert, 1980.

Mundy, John H. "Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100–1250." *Traditio* 22 (1966): 203–288.

Neel, Carol. "The Origins of the Beguines." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14.2 (1989): 321–41.

Nicholson, Helen. *The Knights Hospitaller.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001.

———. *Love, War, and the Grail.* Leiden: Brill, 2001.

———. "Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50.4 (1999): 629–51.

———. "The Sisters' House at Minwear, Pembrokeshire: Analysis of the Documentary and Archaeological Evidence." *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 151 (2005): 109–138.

———. "Templar Attitudes Towards Women." *Medieval History* 1.3 (1991): 74–80.

———. *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291.* London: Leicester University Press, 1993.

———. "Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies." In *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002. 125–34.

Oakeshott, Walter. F. *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London: Miller and Medcalf, 1972.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 1." *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 15 (1959): 161–93.

———. "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 2." *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 16 (1960): 3–59.

———. "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, 3." *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 16 (1960): 255–92.

———. "The Foundation of the Order of Alcántara, 1176–1218." *The Catholic Historical Review* 47.4 (1962): 471–86.

Oliva, Marilyn. *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350–1540.* Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 12. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998.

Orme, Nicholas, and Margaret E. G. Webster. *The English Hospital, 1070–1570.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Palacios Sánchez, Juan-Manuel. *El Real Monasterio de Sijena: Introducción a la historia del monasterio.* Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1980.

Parry, John Meredydd. *The Commandery of Slebech in Wales of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.* Slebech: Fairwinds Publications, 1996.

Pérez-Embid Wamba, Javier. *El Císter en Castilla y León: Monacato y dominios rurales, siglos XII–XV.* Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León (Consejería de educacíon y cultura), 1986.

Pétel, Auguste. *La maison de Villers-les-Verrières.* Troyes: Paul Nouel, 1905.

Petit, François. *Norbert et l'origine des Prémontrés.* Paris: Cerf, 1981.

Pfaff, Richard W. *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

Phillips, Jonathan. "Archbishop Henry of Rheims and the Militarization of the Hospitallers." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare.* Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 83–88.

———. *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Pourrière, Jean. *Les hôpitaux d'Aix-en-Provence au Moyen Âge, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles.* Aix-en-Provence: P. Roubaud, 1969.

Power, Eileen. *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Prim i Roigè, Bertran. "Les ordinacions del convent d'Alguaire." *Cuadernos de historia economica de Cataluña* 17 (1977): 25–55.

Pringle, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Prutz, Hans. *Die geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur kirchlichen, politischen, gesellschaftlichen, und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters.* Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1908.

Rassow, Peter. "La cofradía de Belchite." *Annuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 3 (1926): 200–226.

Raybaud, Jean François. *Histoire des grands prieurs et du grand prieuré de Saint-Gilles.* 3 vols. Nîmes: Clavel and Chastanier, 1904–1906.

Rees, William. *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Including an Account of the Templars.* Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo, 1947.

Richard, Jean. "Hospitals and Hospital Congregations in the Latin Kingdom during the First Period of Frankish Conquest." In *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer.* Edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, and Raymond C. Smail. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982. 89–100.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Crusading as an Act of Love." *History* 65 (1980): 177–92.

———. *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277.* London: Macmillan, 1973.

———. *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

———. "Henry II, Patriarch Heraclius and the English Templars and Hospitallers." Paper delivered at the Fourth International Conference on Military Orders, 2005.

———. *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310.* London: Macmillan, 1967.

———. "The Origins of the Commandery in the Temple and the Hospital." In *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval.* Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002. 9–18.

———. *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.

———. *What Were the Crusades?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Rivera Garretas, María-Milagros. *La encomienda, el priorato y la villa de Uclés en la Edad Media (1174–1310): Formación de un señorío de la Orden de Santiago.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985.

Rubin, Miri. *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Russell, Frederick. H. *The Just War in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, Regina. *La orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón: La encomienda de Montalbán, 1210–1327.* Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980

———. "Repercusiones de la guerra de Castilla en el Monasterio de Sijena, 1350–1375." *Aragón en la Edad Media* 10–11 (1993): 793–814.

Sans i Travé, Josep María. "El Rourell: Una preceptoria del Temple al Camp de Tarragona (1162?–1248)." *Boletín arqueológico* 4.133–140 (1976–1977): 133–201.

———. *Els Templers catalans: De la rosa a la creu.* Lleida: Pagels Editors, 1996.

Sartiges d'Angles, Jean-François de. "Preuves de noblesse des dames réligieuses de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem admises au monastère de Beaulieu." *Revue nobiliaire*, new series 4 (1868): 513–22, 529–56.

Schenk, Jochen. "Family Involvement in the Order of the Temple in Burgundy, Champagne and Languedoc, c. 1120–c. 1307." PhD Dissertation, Cambridge University, 2005.

———. "Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple," *Journal of Medieval History* 34.1 (2008): 79–103.

Schijndel, Th. M. van. "De premonstratenzer koorzusters: Van dubbelkloosters naar autonome konventen." In *Gedenkboek Orde van Prémontré, 1121–1971.* Edited by Koenraad E. Stappers. Averbode: Altiora, 1971. 163–77.

Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts. *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

———. "Strict Active Enclosure and Its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (ca. 500–1100)." In *Medieval Religious Women*. Vol. 1, *Distant Echoes*. Edited by John A. Nichols and Lilian T. Shank. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984. 51–86.

Schuler, Karl. F. "The Pictorial Program of the Chapter House of Sigena." PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1995.

Schwenk, Bernd. *Calatrava: Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1992.

Scott, Joan W. "The Evidence of Experience." *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773–97.

———. *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York, 1988; 2nd ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

———. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91.5 (1986): 1053–75.

Selwood, D. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100–1300.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999.

Shahar, Shulamith. "Des lépreux pas comme les autres: L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem." *Revue historique* 541 (1982): 19–41.

Sibert, Gautier de. *Histoire de l'Ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem.* Paris, 1772. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1983.

Sinclair, Keith V. "The French Prayer for the Sick in the Hospital of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem at Acre." *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 484–88.

Sire, H. J. A. "The Character of the Hospitaller Properties in Spain in the Middle Ages." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 1, *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick.* Edited by Malcolm Barber. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994. 21–27.

———. *The Knights of Malta.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Sloane, Barney, and Malcolm Gordon. *Excavations at the Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London.* London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004.

Smith, Jaqueline. "Robert of Arbrissel: *Procurator mulierum.*" In *Medieval Women.* Edited by Derek Baker and Rosalind Hill. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978. 175–84.

Stevenson, William R., Jr. *Christian Love and Just War: Moral Paradox and Political Life in St. Augustine and his Modern Interpreters.* Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987.

Southern, Richard W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

Sorrentino, Janet T. "Choice Words: The Liturgy of the Order of Sempringham." PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999.

Stadler-Planzer, Hans. "Seedorf." *Helvetia sacra* 4.7 (2006): 913–42.

Struckmeyer, Myra. "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages.* Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 89–112.

Sweetinburgh, Sheila. *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-Giving and the Spiritual Economy.* Portland: Four Courts Press, 2004.

Taaffe, John. *The History of the Holy, Military, Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem; or Knights Hospitallers, Knights Templars, Knights of Rhodes, Knights of Malta.* London: Hope, 1852.

Tacchella, Lorenzo. *I cavalieri di Malta in Liguria.* Genoa: Tilgher, 1977.

———. *I 'donati' nella storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta.* Verona: The Granpriory of Verona of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 1986.

Thompson, Sally. "The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *Medieval Women.* Edited by Derek Baker and Rosalind Hill. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978. 227–52.

———. "Why English Nunneries Had No History: A Study of the Problems of the English Nunneries Founded after the Conquest." In *Medieval Religious Women.* Vol. 1, *Distant Echoes.* Edited by John A. Nichols and Lillian T. Shank. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984. 131–50.

———. *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Tommasi, Francesco. "Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta: Per il problema delle case doppie e miste negli ordini giovannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)." In *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter.* Edited by Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1992. 177–202.

——— "Men and Women of the Hospitaller, Templar and Teutonic Orders: Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries." In *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages.* Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 71–88.

Torres y Tapia, Alonso. *Crónica de la orden de Alcantara.* 2 vols. Madrid: G. Ramirez, 1763.

Touati, François-Olivier. "Aime et fais que tu veux: Les chanoines réguliers et la révolution de charité au Moyen Âge." In *Les chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles).* Edited by Michel Parisse. Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009. 159–210.

Tumler, Marian. *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400.* Vienna: Panorama, 1955.

Tyerman, Christopher. *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Ubieto Arteta, Augustín. "Cofrades Aragoneses y Navarros del Temple (siglo XII): Aspectos socio-económicos." *Aragón en la Edad Media* 3 (1980): 29–93.

———. *El Real Monasterio de Sigena, 1188–1300.* Valencia: Anubar, 1966.

Vann, Theresa M. "Hospitaller Record Keeping and Archival Practices." In *The Military Orders.* Vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare.* Edited by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 36–54.

Varón, Marco Antonio. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sixena.* 2 vols. Pamplona: Pasqual Ibañez, 1773.

Venarde, Bruce L. *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life.* Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003.

———. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Vertot, Abbé de. *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis Chevaliers de Rhodes et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malthe.* Paris, Rollin: 1726.

———. *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem*. Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1757. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1981.

Vestea, Luigi di. *Penne sacra.* Teramo: El Lauro, 1923.

Vogüé, Charles-Jean Melchior de. *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*. Paris, 1860. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Wal, Guillaume Eugène Joseph de. *Recherches sur l'ancienne constitution de l'ordre Teutonique et sur ses usage comparés avec ceux des Templiers.* Mergentheim: Thomm, 1807.

Waltstein-Wartenberg, Berthold. *Die Vasallen Christi: Kulturgeschichte des Johanniterordens im Mittelalter.* Vienna: Böhlau, 1988.

Warren, Wilfred L. *Henry II.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Weber, Max, *The Sociology of Religion*. Translated by Ephraim Fischoff. Boston, 1922. Reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Willetts, Pamela J. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Society of Antiquaries of London*. London: D. S. Brewer, 2000.

Zaccagnini, Gabriele. *Ubaldesca: Una santa laica nella Pisa dei secoli XII–XIII.* Pisa: GISEM, 1995.

Zaragoza Pascual, Ernest, *Catàleg dels monestirs catalans*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997.

INDEX

Abelard, Peter, 9, 11
Adaladis of Subirats, 25
Adalbert, Count of Périgord, 49
Adelaide, 117, 130
Adelaisce of Pignan, 47
Adelheid, Countess of Taufers, 33–4
Adelis, 52, 79, 117, 136, 164*n*45
Adelisa, 26
Aelred of Rielvaux, 146*n*33
Agnes (Hospitaller sister at Buckland), 80
Agnes (Hospitaller sister at Isot), 95
Agnes, daughter of William of Arundel, 118
Agnes, widow of Hugh Pellisier, 94
Aiglina of Sales, 26
Aigline of Thémines, 100–4, 114, 117
Aimeric of Layron, lord of Caesarea, 70
Aimerigua, Aiglina, 118
Aimerigua, Flor, 118
Aimerigua, Helis, 118
Aimery of Muret, 47
Aldebert, 74
Aleman, Johan, 71
Alexander III, Pope, 30, 58–9, 81, 150*n*3
Alexander IV, Pope, 106
Alexis of Cervera, 71
Alfonso, Martín, 32
Alfonso II, King of Aragon, 80, 85–6, 97, 118, 124
Alfonso IV, King of Castile and León, 49
Alfonso VII, King of Castile, 27–8
Alfonso VIII, King of Castile, 31
Alfonso IX, King of León, 32
Alguaire, 4, 95–100, 108, 117–18, 123–4, 126–9, 137, 192*n*93
Amalric I, King of Jerusalem, 70
Amasalt, 79
Anastasius IV, Pope, 49
Armengaud of Asp, 82, 84–7
Armengol VI, Count of Urgel, 49
Arrabi, John, 70
Arsend (Hospitaller donat at Valentí), 114
Arsend of Tous, 78, 136
Assalit, Don of Gudal, 71–2
Aurembiaix of Urgell, Countess, 31
Autard, Rixenda, 94, 120

Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, 47
Balian II of Ibelin, 70–1, 190*n*66
Barascon of Thémines, 102, 104
Beatrice of Fos, 26
Beaulieu, 4, 62, 93, 97, 100–5, 108, 113, 116–19, 123–30, 137, 186*n*7, 190*n*60–1
Berengaria, daughter of Raymond of Tous, 117
Berengaria of Llorac, 26
Berengaria of Navarre, 11
Berenger Bernard of Sant Domi, 46, 51, 114
Bergenguera of Calders, 95
Berman, Constance, 14–15, 39–40
Bernard, Peter, 24, 28

Bernard, preceptor in Bohemia, 88
Bernard of Clairvaux, 11, 14, 24, 28, 57, 123
Bernard of Saint-Rémy, 74, 78, 112, 114
Bona, Doña, 73, 78
Bonafossa, Fina, 104
Bonasciutta, daughter of Bonincontra of Campo, 68
Bonasias, 94
Boniface, Saint, 9
Boniface VIII, Pope, 20
Borrella, wife of Peter Bernard, 24
Boveria, Maria, 26
Brodman, James, 44, 58, 166*n*80
Brugge, Walter von der, 34
Brunisenda, 95
Buckland, 4, 37, 74, 79–82, 86–7, 89, 92, 97–8, 107–9, 115–21, 124–30, 134, 137, 174*nn*24, 28, 190*n*62, 193*n*100, 194*n*116
Byne, Mildred Staple, xvi
Bynum, Caroline Walker, 16

canonesses, 12, 107
  aristocratic women and, 9, 87, 90, 136–7
  Augustinian (regular), 17, 21, 41–2, 87, 90, 99, 115, 122, 124, 131, 136–7, 191–2*n*85
  history of, 17
caritas, 57, 60–2, 167*n*102
chastity, vow of, 7, 9–10, 21, 23–7, 30, 39, 49, 52–4, 109, 134, 136, 139–40
Chatella, Agnes, 26
Chico, Don, 73
Christiane Fidei Religio (papal bull), 49
Clarice, 120–1, 130
Clarisses. *See* Poor Clares
clausura, 3, 8, 11, 13, 17, 21, 84, 87, 122–5, 131, 134, 138, 145*n*15
Clement III, Pope, 88–9
Cluniac nunneries, 11, 16
commanderies, women in, 4, 37, 39, 42, 77–80, 89, 93–6, 107, 122, 130, 134–5, 137–9, 173*n*17
commendatrix (preceptrix), 50, 95–6, 98–9, 111, 113, 119, 130, 138, 177*n*61
Comnena, Maria, Queen of Jerusalem, 70–1, 117, 120, 190*n*66
confraternity, 8, 29–30, 66–70, 74–5, 79, 135, 139–40
confratres, 5, 25–6, 33, 39, 46, 51, 66–70, 72, 74–5, 79, 104, 120, 126
consorores, 5, 25–6, 33, 34, 39, 51–2, 65–75, 79, 93, 117, 119, 130, 139, 145*n*16, 172*n*1
Constable, Giles, 8, 44
Constance, commendatrix of Añon, 96
Constance of France, Countess of Saint-Gilles, 11–12, 69–70, 117, 119, 145*n*16, 169*n*18, 190*n*65
Constanza of Anglosola, 31
corrodians, 5, 119, 136, 172*n*3
Cristiana, daughter of Roger of Caiaphas, 70, 117
Crusades:
  and creation of military orders, 2, 55–8
  and the Order of Saint John, 1–2, 11, 37, 44–6, 55, 57–8, 82
  and the Teutonic Order, 32
  and women in military orders, 111–12, 122
cura monialium (the care of nuns), 2, 7–11, 19–21, 122–31, 133–4, 149*n*77

Delaville Le Roulx, Joseph, 65–6, 69, 133
Demurger, Alain, 67
Dominico of Batizo, 67
donats, 5, 26, 31, 39, 51–2, 65–75, 78, 93, 95, 96, 98, 105, 114, 118, 130, 136, 139, 168*n*113
Dossa of Castelnau, 118
double monasteries, 12
Dulce (daughter of Queen Sancha), 120, 191*n*77

Echániz Sans, María, 38
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 11–12, 70, 81, 145*n*16
Elisenda of Alentorn, 98
Elisenda of Jorba, 95, 98, 180*n*23, 181*n*41
Elizabeth of Hungary, 36
Elkins, Sharon, 18–20, 80
Erdmann, Carl, 56
Ermengard of Oluja, 25–6, 153*n*24
Ermesen of Biosca, 79
Ermesend, wife of Berengar Bernard, 46, 51, 68, 79, 114
Ermesenda (Hospitaller sister at Isot), 95
Ermesenda of Castellnou, 98
Ermesenda of Odena, 98
Ermesenda of Ofegat, 98
Ermesenda of Tous, 117
España, wife of Domingo Lozano, 72–3
Eugenius III, Pope, 13
Eustace VI, Count of Boulogne, 70
Eximén of Urrea, 96

female monasticism, 1–2, 7–21, 39–41, 133–4, 138
Ferrand of Barras, 102
Fernando II, King of León, 29–30
Fleur, Saint, 116, 123
Fontevrists, 8, 12, 20, 40, 145*n*16; *See also* Order of Fontevrault
Forcalquier, Hugh, 96
Fulk, King of Jerusalem, 35, 55
Fulk of Villaret, 104, 183*n*67, 189*n*57

Galindo of Deuslibol, 73
Garcia of Lisa, 73, 84–5
Genoa, 62, 74, 94, 112–13, 120, 122
Geralda of Paracolls, 95
Gerard, first Hospitaller master, 45–6, 48
Géraud V of Barasc, bishop of Cahors, 101
Gila, 69, 79, 119
Gilbert of Assailly, 55–6
Gilbert of Citeaux, Abbot, 28
Gilbert of Sempringham, Saint, 7, 9, 12–14; *See also* Order of Gilbertines
Godfrey of Bresil, 78
Godo of Foces, 96
Gold, Penny Shine, 18–19
Gombau of Oluja, 25–6
Gregorius, Rostagnus, 73
Gregory VII, Pope, 56
Gregory IX, Pope, 107, 115, 127
Gregory X, Pope, 111
Grimald of Sales, 26
Grisén, 54, 72, 80, 85–7, 89, 96, 113, 122, 124, 136, 177*n*61
Grundmann, Herbert, 14, 149*n*77
Geralda, 98–9
Guerau of Montagut, 72
Guerra, Oria, 95, 118
Guibert of Thémines, 100–4, 114
Guillaume Pons of Champagnolles, bishop of Cahors, 47
Guillelma (donat at Saint-Rémy), 112, 119
Guillelma (donat at Toulouse), 94
Guillelma, wife of Rostagnus Gregorius, 73
Guillelma of Faro, 96
Guillem of Jorba, 95, 118, 180*n*23
Guillerma of Castelnau, 118
Gutiérrez, Don García, 28–9

Hallam, Elizabeth M., 80
Hardels, Robert (wife of), 25
Harding, Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux, 24
Helis of Castelnau, 118
Heloise of Argenteuil, 9, 11, 144–5*n*6, 145*n*10
Helvis of Saint-Jean-de-Bonneval, 26
Henry, bishop of Prague, 89
Henry II, King of England, 70, 80–2, 107, 124, 126, 173*n*22
Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor, 32
Heraclius, 82
Hildegard of Bingen, 9
Hildegund, 34
Hiltburg of Dossenbach, 34

hospital, use of the term, 148*n*58
Hospital of St. John. *See* Order of Saint John of Jerusalem
hospitaller foundations and orders, 8, 11–12, 17–18
Hospitallers. *See* Order of Saint John of Jerusalem
houses for Calatrava sisters, 28–9
houses for Hospitaller sisters:
  Aconbury, 62, 96, 106–8, 112, 114, 129–31, 137
  Acre, 4, 106, 108, 113
  Antioch, 4, 106, 108, 113
  Alguaire, 4, 95–100, 108, 117–18, 123–4, 126–9, 137, 192*n*93
  Beaulieu, 4, 62, 93, 97, 100–5, 108, 116–19, 123–30, 137, 186*n*7, 190*n*60–1
  Buckland, 4, 37, 74, 79–82, 86–7, 89, 92, 97–8, 107–9, 115–21, 124–30, 134, 137, 174*nn*24, 28, 190*n*62, 193*n*100, 194*n*116
  Grisén, 54, 72, 80, 85–7, 89, 96, 113, 122, 124, 136, 177*n*61
  Les Fieux, 104–5, 108, 118, 128–9, 137
  Manetin, 87–9, 108, 134
  organization of, 125–9
  Penne, 4, 96, 105, 108, 129, 183*n*72
  Pisa, 105–6, 108
  Prague, 88–9, 92, 118, 177*n*69, 186*n*7, 194*n*131
  Salinas de Añana, 4, 106, 108
  Sigena, 1, 4–5, 37, 74, 77, 80, 82–7, 89–93, 97–9, 108–9, 111–20, 123–6, 128–31, 134, 137, 139, 190*n*61, 193*n*96
  See also Sigena's Rule
houses for Lazarite sisters, 36, 160, 219
houses for Sanguanista sisters, 31–2
houses for Templar sisters, 26, 138–9
houses for Teutonic sisters, 24, 159
Huneberc of Heidenheim, 9

Infanta Sancha, 130, 186–7*n*14
Innocent II, Pope, 57
Innocent III, Pope, 12, 33, 193*n*114
Innocent IV, Pope, 115, 123
Isabeau of Wasiers, 26
Isabella of Aversa, 105

Jacoba of Monte, 105
James Panteleon. *See* Urban IV
James I, King of Aragon, 30, 93, 114, 186–7*n*14
Jerome, Saint, 8, 60
John of Würzburg, 59
Johnson, Penelope, 19–21
Jordán, Urraca, 96
Juan of Lignag, 121
Juliana of Caesarea, 70–2, 186–7*n*14

Lateran Councils, 26, 148*n*53
lay associates, types of, 1, 3, 5, 23, 25–6, 39, 51, 65–8, 74–5, 78, 112–13, 117, 130
Leoba of Wessex, Saint, 9
Lercari, Alassina, 94, 120
Livre au roi, 35
Lopez de Luna, Pedro, 86–7
Loppe of San Pedro, 120–1
Lozano, Domingo, 72
Lucius III, Pope, 75, 88, 103
Luttrell, Anthony, 194*n*116

Major of Aix, 86–7, 117–18, 136
Malamort, Géraud, 101
Manerio, Giovanni, 74
Manetin, 87–9, 108, 134
Manfred, commander of Genoa, 74
Margaret of Caesarea, 71
Margaret of Lacy, 106–7, 115, 124
Margarita of Castellione, 26
Maria of Mataxolas, 71, 170*n*30
Maria of Taissonas, 95
Marquesa of Guardia, 95, 97–9, 117–18
Marquesa of Rajadell, 98
McNamara, Jo Ann, 20, 149*n*77
Melisend, 80

Mendes de Sousa, Maria, 32
military orders:
Augustine vs. Benedictine rule in, 3
defining, 2–3
distinctions between, 2–3
gender analysis and, 133
Hospitallers as, 45, 53–8, 63
and lack of a vow of stability, 54
lay associates in, 3
Order of Saint John as, 45–53
religious, 1–7, 14, 21, 23, 37–8, 41–5, 53–9, 133–5, 141
Templars as prototype for, 3, 18, 43–4
women in, 14, 23–42, 133–5, 138–41
See also individual orders
Miramon, Charles de, 67–9, 71, 74
Miret i Sans, Joaquín, 72
Moreno, Francisco, 85, 191*n*77

Nikulas of Pverda, 59
Norbert of Xanten, 12
nun of Watton, 13

Odo, abbot of Lézat, 47
Order of Alcántara, 2, 23, 138, 141, 149–50*n*1
Order of Aubrac, 18
Order of Calatrava, 1, 11, 23, 27–9, 37, 41–2, 138–41, 146*n*34, 149–50*n*1
Order of Cîteaux:
beginnings of, 11
and donates, 67
and female membership, 12, 15–16, 23–4, 138
foundation of female houses, 39–41, 83–4
Gilbert of Sempringham's admiration for, 13–14
nuns and nunneries, 11, 14–15, 23, 26–9, 37, 41–2, 84–5, 119, 123, 138–9
and the Order of Calatrava, 23, 27–8, 37, 41, 139–41
and the Templars, 18, 24, 26, 37, 41–2, 54, 58, 141
and wool business, 110
Order of Fontevrault, 8, 12, 20, 40, 145*n*16
Order of Gilbertines, 3, 8, 40, 81, 146*n*30
Order of Prémontré, 8, 12, 17, 40, 57, 151*n*8
Order of Roncesvalles, 18
Order of Saint John of Jerusalem:
and Adelis (or Adelaide), first *soror*, 26, 52, 79, 117, 130, 136, 164*n*45
beginnings of, 37, 43–4
and *Christiane fidei religio* (papal bull), 49
description of, 5–6
donations to, 46–51, 57–9
and female members, 109–31
and Gerard, first master, 45–8
and Gilbert of Assailly, master, 55–6
as Hospitaller Order, 58–62
houses for sisters, 79–91, 96–108
influence of, 1–2
lay sisters of, 65–75
as military order, 3, 53–8
and orphans, 60–2, 120–1
and *Pie postulatio* (papal bull), 44–5, 48, 51
and Raymond of Le Puy, master, 48, 53–5, 63
as religious military order, 53–9
women in commanderies, 77–80, 93–9
Order of Saint Lazarus, 18, 35–7, 41–2, 140–1, 160*nn*111, 113
Order of Saint Thomas, 18, 149*n*63
Order of Santiago, 1–2, 23, 29–32, 38, 41–2, 138, 140–1
Order of Somport, 18

Order of the Temple:
and banking, 110
Cistercians' influence on, 11, 24, 37, 58
and combination of warfare and religious life, 57
denial of membership of women in, 23–4, 41, 138–9, 141
dissolution of, 27, 139
and donat association, 67
and female association, 24–7, 41, 138–9
female commander in, 25–6
Hospitallers compared with, 54, 57–9, 166*n*84
housing for sisters, 42
leadership positions of sisters, 138
and Order of Calatrava, 27–8, 139
and Order of Saint Lazarus, 35–6, 41–2, 140–1, 160*n*111
as prototype for military orders, 3, 18, 43
Sancha's negotiations with, 82, 84–6
Teutonic Knights compared with, 33, 37–8, 140
orphans, 60–2, 120–1

Paleresa, Nina, 94
Pantaleon, James, 106
Pascal II, Pope, 48, 51, 163*n*31
Pere of Alcalá, 96, 98, 117
Pereta (wife of Petrus of Ulzina of Calid), 68
Pérez Correa, Pelay, 31–2
Pérez of Azagra, Sancha, 31
Peter of Cintruéngo, 24–5
Peter the Venerable, 11
Petrus of Ulzina of Calid, 68
Pevere, Johanna, 94, 114, 121–2, 130
Pie postulatio (papal bull), 44–5, 48, 51
pilgrims, 11, 17–18, 44, 46, 48, 56, 59, 62, 94, 100–1, 111–12, 119, 130
Plantagenet, Joan, 70
Ponçeta of Montagut, 72, 114
Poncia (Hospitaller lay sister), 74
Poncia Raina (Templar sister), 24
Pons (Hospitaller donat), 72
Pons of Antejac, 100–1
Poor Clares (Clarisses), 20–1, 123
poverty (economic hardship), 61, 68–9, 75, 119
poverty, vow of, 9, 24–5, 39, 49, 52, 136, 139
Prague, 80, 88–9, 92, 106, 108, 118, 177*n*69, 186*n*7, 194*n*131
priories, 50, 60, 62, 65, 77–8, 82, 86–8, 98, 121, 125, 129
Proenza, 26

Raimunda of Mornas, 73, 78
Ramon of Cervera, 97, 118
Ramon of Liri, 95
Ramon of Seró, 24
Ramon of Vallbona, 14
Raymond of Benasch, 72
Raymond Berenger III, Count of Barcelona, 49
Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Barcelona, 55
Raymond of Caneto, 84
Raymond of Le Puy, 48, 53–5, 63
Raymond of Santa Maria de Fitero, Abbot, 27–8
Raymond of Tous, 78–9, 117
Raymond of Tripoli, 55
Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, 70
Redon, Pierre, 73
Reginald, bishop of Bath, 81
religious enthusiasm, 7, 11–21, 134
Respendina, wife of Pierre Redon, 73
Richard of Chaldefelde, 25
Riley-Smith, Jonathan, 57, 66–7, 163*n*25, 166*n*84
Rixendis, 24–5
Robert of Arbrissel, 12, 21
Robert of Arundel, 127
Rodríguez, Fernandez, 98, 117
Rodríguez, Maria, 96

Roger of Caiaphas, 70, 117, 169*n*22
Roger de Moulins, 60, 82
Roger of Vere, 127
Rohart, lord of Caiaphas, 70, 169*n*22
Romeo, Dominico, 71, 170*n*30
Romana, wife of Raymond of Benasch, 72
Rosella, Maria, 71
Rudolf of Schauensee, 36
Rule of Beaulieu, 103, 116
Rule of Saint Augustine, 3, 8–9, 16–17, 30, 35, 41, 45, 84, 111, 133, 137, 140–1, 148*n*53
Rule of Saint Benedict, 3, 8–9, 12, 16–17, 28, 41, 44, 123, 133, 141, 148*n*53
Rule of Sigena, 1, 84–5, 87, 89–91, 115, 123, 129, 144*n*1, 175–6*n*47, 178*n*72
Rule of the Order of Calatrava, 28–9, 140
Rule of the Order of Cîteaux, 28–9, 140–1
Rule of the Order of Saint John, 5, 18, 45–9, 52–4, 60, 63, 73, 78, 93, 99, 105, 109, 111, 126, 130, 136
Rule of the Order of Saint Lazarus, 35–6, 42, 141
Rule of the Order of Santiago, 30–2, 38, 140
Rule of the Order of the Temple, 18, 23–5, 33, 35–6, 54, 57, 138
Rule of the Teutonic Order, 33–5

Sancha, Queen of Aragon, xv, 143*n*1, 175*n*39, 193*n*114
  children of, xvi, 91, 117, 120, 191*n*77
  and foundation of Grisén, 85–7, 136
  founder of Sigena, 1, 80, 82–7, 89–91, 111–12, 123, 126, 175–6*n*47
  grave of, xvi
Sancha of Castile, 15
Sancho I, King of Portugal, 31
Schonweder, Gerburg, 34
Seynthze, Gertrud, 158*n*81
Sibilia of Llorac, 94–5, 98, 181*n*41
Sigena, 1, 4–5, 74, 77, 80, 82–6, 89–93, 97–9, 108–9, 111–20, 123–6, 129–31, 134, 137, 139, 143, 190*n*61, 193*n*96
Sigena's Rule, 84, 89–90, 115, 123, 129, 144*n*1, 175–6*n*47, 178*n*72
Simona, widow of Borgognone Embracio, 74
Southern, Richard, 14, 149*n*77
Spanish Civil War, xvi
Stephen, prior of Taunton, 81
Stillingflete, John, 81
Suarez, María, 28–9
Sycilla of Soigneio, 26

Tacchella, Lorenzo, 74
Templars. *See* Order of the Temple
Teutonic order, 1, 18, 23, 32–5, 37, 41–2, 138, 140, 158*n*81
Theodoric (German monk), 59
Theresa, Countess of Portugal (widow of Henry of Bourgogne), 49
Thomas, Archdeacon of Taunton, 81
Thompson, Sally, 14, 19
Toscana, Saint, 116, 168*n*1, 173*n*16
Tripoli, 60, 62

Ubaldesca, Saint, 106, 116–17, 168*n*1, 183*n*74
Ulrich of Taufers, Count, 33–4
Urban II, Pope, 56
Urban IV, Pope, 99, 106
Urraca, Queen of Castile and León, 49

Valentina, 74
Vélazquez, Diego, 27
Venarde, Bruce, 18–20, 39–40, 80

virginity, 9, 11, 13
Vitry, Jacques de, 191–2*n*85

Weber, Max, 19
Wilhelma (daughter of Romano), 24
Willehad, Saint, 9
William, Earl of Arundel, 118
William of Braose, 106–7
William of Caesarea, 71
William of Concha Bella, 72
William of Erlegh, 81
William of Lavansa, 24
William of Mornas, 73
William of Villaret, 103–4, 118, 183*n*67, 189*n*57
Willibrord, Saint, 9
women in military orders:
  and fighting, 3, 4, 11, 53, 112, 130
  and managing estates, 89, 127–9
  and monastic vocation, 3, 9, 41–2, 77, 85–7, 99, 115–17, 124, 127–9
  and nursing, 3, 4, 17, 61, 79, 112, 119, 130

Xemeno, Dominga, 31

Zaragoza Pascual, Ernest, 40, 180*n*16